

AN INTRODUCTION TO
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY, RECENSIONS
AND MANUSCRIPTS

MUṢṬAFĀ AL-AṄZAMĪ

Translation, Notes and Appendices

MUNTASIR ZAMAN



In memory of the scholar who produced
the first printed edition of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*

Aḥmad 'Alī as-Sahāranpūrī
(d. 1297 AH/1880 CE)

May his legacy never be forgotten

Yahyā ibn Ja‘far al-Bikandī (d. 243 AH) said,

“If I could increase the lifespan of Muhammad ibn Ismā‘il [al-Bukhārī] by sacrificing mine, I would have done so because my death would be the death of one man, but his death would result in the loss of knowledge.”

(Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdađ*, 2:345)

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Translator's Preface

It was a momentous occasion for Abū Ḥātim al-Harawī (d. 368 AH) when, after tireless effort and dedication, he had officially completed the reading of *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* to his teacher. As the recitation of the *Ṣahīh* concluded, he asked his teacher, "Did Firabrī himself recite every ḥadīth to you?" To Abū Ḥātim's dismay, the teacher replied, "No, rather we heard the ḥadīths being recited to him." Unaware of this, Abū Ḥātim up until this point had prefaced the reading of each ḥadīth with the words "Firabrī narrated to you." While such minutiae in the transmission process may have been trivial to many, for Abū Ḥātim it fell far short of the scholarly integrity requisite for narrating Prophetic ḥadīths. Thus, as a timeless gesture of fidelity and commitment, he recited the entire *Ṣahīh* to his teacher once more, only this time with the appropriate phrase of transmission.¹

This meticulous approach to transmitting sacred knowledge is also displayed in the case of Sa'd ibn 'Alī al-Qādī. In 475 AH, he claimed that he heard *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* via one link from Firabrī, who had passed away 120 years prior. This farfetched claim was enough of a reason for Sa'd's contemporaries to declare him a liar.²

Muslims rightfully pride themselves on preserving their sacred sources. This is evidenced by the countless volumes produced by scholars documenting the lives of thousands of ḥadīth narrators found in the chains of transmission (*isnād*). For example, a researcher can easily access the biographical accounts of all the narrators whom Imām Bukhārī (d. 256 AH) cites in his *Ṣahīh*. Not only that, scholars

¹ Baghdādī, *Kifāyah*, 303–304.

² Dhahabī, *Mizān al-Itidāl*, 2:124; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 4:32.

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even preserved the biographical details of those who transmitted the *Şahīh* from its author in subsequent generations. Ibn Nuqtah's (d. 629 AH) *at-Taqyid li-Mārifat Ruwāt as-Sunan wa 'l-Masānid*, for one, systematically documents the lives of those who transmitted these works. By extension, the authorship of Ḥadīth literature became definitively known to the point that Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643 AH) states that the major Ḥadīth books have circulated too widely to be tampered with or interpolated, let alone have their authorship doubted.¹ Whilst acknowledging this unparalleled scholarship, Aloys Sprenger (d. 1893) writes, "There is no nation nor has there been any like these [Muslims] which has, during twelve centuries, recorded the life of every man of letters."²

It can easily be said that no compilation of ḥadīth has garnered scholarly attention as Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī's magnum opus, *al-Jāmi' al-Musnad aṣ-Şahīh al-Mukhtaṣar min Umūr Rasūlillāh wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi*, commonly referred to as *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*.³ This work was the result of sixteen years of relentless effort. With at least 400 scholarly works that expound on the text and 2000 extant manuscripts written in various periods of history to its name, there is hardly a book in human history that has received as much care and attention as *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*.⁴

One of the most thorough scholarly projects concerning *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* occurred around the year 666 AH, when a renowned Levantine Ḥadīth scholar, Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 701 AH), headed

¹ Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddimah*, 17.

² Sprenger, Foreword, in *A Biographical Dictionary of Persons Who Knew Mohammed*, 1:1. He then writes, "If the biographical records of the Musalmans were collected, we should probably have accounts of the lives of half a million of distinguished persons, and it would be found that there is not a decennium of their history, nor a place of importance which has not its representatives." Notwithstanding that half a million is an exaggeration, there is no doubt that Islamic civilization is peerless in this accomplishment. See Abū Ghuddah, *Lamahāt*, 163.

³ Bukhārī, as reflected in this text, is often referred to as Abū 'Abdillāh or Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il.

⁴ Ḥusaynī, *Iḥṭāf al-Qāri bi-Mārifat Juhūd wa Āmāl al-'Ulamā' ala Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, 6; *al-Fahras ash-Shāmil li 't-Turāth al-'Arabī al-Islāmī al-Makhtūt*, 493–565.

a legendary audition of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* in Damascus. With the aid of the celebrated linguist Ibn Mālik (d. 672 AH), Yūnīnī convened a gathering of scholars who utilized a variety of critically-acclaimed manuscripts of the *Şahīh* for cross-reference in order to produce a meticulously authenticated version of the *Şahīh*. This was one of the most awe-inspiring episodes of literature-preservation in history. Subsequently, the historian and scribe Shihāb ad-Dīn an-Nuwayrī (d. 733 AH) transcribed several copies of what became known as the *Yūnīniyyah*, one of which is found in the Köprülü library in Istanbul.

The late Dr Muṣṭafā al-A'ẓamī produced a facsimile edition of Nuwayrī's manuscript of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* for the benefit of a wider readership. He prefaced the manuscript with an introduction in Arabic that serves as a useful starting point for anyone interested in advancing their knowledge of the *Şahīh* and its author. This introduction can be divided into three chapters. The first chapter explores Imām Bukhārī's biography and oeuvre. It then proceeds to important discussions on the modus operandi of his *Şahīh*, addressing key issues such as criteria of narrator-selection, stages of compilation and recensions. The first chapter concludes with an extensive list of transmitters and sub-transmitters of the *Şahīh*. The second chapter sheds light on the role of the *isnād* system in Islamic scholarship, with specific reference to the preservation of the Ḥadīth literature. Here the author cites his personal chain of transmission for *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* leading back to Imām Bukhārī. The third chapter delves into the *Yūnīniyyah* manuscript of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*. The author provides biographical information on the manuscript's eponym, details secondary and tertiary copies, and reproduces the reading certificates and appended material on the manuscript.

The original Arabic introduction to Dr A'ẓamī's edition was preceded by a partial English translation by his son Anas. However, there was a need to complete the translation, annotate relevant passages, and add appendices in order to refine the introduction. The present work hopes to accomplish this need. To make the work more reader-friendly, an idiomatic translation has been adopted and

liberties have been taken in omitting and rearranging passages. The original footnotes and references have been retained, even if the edition used by Dr A‘zamī is unknown or the page references are not altogether clear. Notes were added to the relevant areas to provide clarity and supplemental material; these were placed in square brackets and marked with “Trans.” I have added two appendices to make the work more comprehensive: the first establishes the reliability of the *Sahīh*’s primary transmitter, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabī (d. 320 AH), and the second discusses an invaluable manuscript of the *Sahīh* that was transcribed by the Indian lexicographer Raḍī ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣaghānī (d. 650 AH).

Translating and annotating this introduction has been a wonderful and edifying experience, but it was not without its challenges. I am indebted to many people who have made this process easier. My dear friend Maulana Haroon Anis has always been an invaluable resource for deciphering abstruse passages and providing relevant reading material. Andrew Booso was readily available to share editorial advice. I cannot put into words the immense support that I received from my beloved wife from the moment I began this project. Without her encouragement, patience and charismatic presence, this translation would have never seen the light of day. Despite her pregnancy, she affectionately catered to my needs and patiently bore with me as I spent countless hours typing away in translation and research. Thereafter, our baby daughter Husna proved to be an excellent assistant (in her own unique way) during the final phase of editing the translation. It goes without saying that my parents’ sacrifices and prayers are the only reason I am able to do the little that I do. May Allah reward all of them with the best of this life and the Hereafter! All that is correct is from Allah, and all shortcomings are from me.

MUNTASIR ZAMAN
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Chapter 1

IMĀM BUKHĀRĪ’S LIFE AND TIMES

After an intermission in sending prophets, Allah ﷺ sent Muhammad ﷺ and thereby sealed the institution of prophethood. He universalized his message for all of creation—including jinn and mankind, Arab and non-Arab—and made it unrestricted by the limits of time and place. Through His sheer mercy and kindness, Allah ﷺ has taken the responsibility of preserving His Book from all forms of adulteration, for He states, “We have sent down the Qur’ān Ourselves, and We Ourselves will guard it.”¹ Furthermore, He directed towards it the hearts of His sincere believing slaves, the pious and righteous. Thus, they remain occupied with it during the hours of the night and throughout the day in memorization, teaching, correct pronunciation of its verses, ritual recitation, contemplation, study and practice.

Allah’s direct promise to protect His Book entails an indirect promise to protect His Prophet’s Sunna, because it elucidates and clarifies [the Book] as well as having legislative authority itself. Allah says, “We have sent down the message to you too [Prophet], so that you can explain to people what was sent for them, so that they may reflect.”² While describing His Prophet, He says, “And who makes good things lawful to them and bad things unlawful.”³ Just as Allah enlisted His bondsmen to protect His Book, He also enlisted many

1 Sūrat al-Hijr, 9.

2 Sūrat an-Nahl, 44.

3 Sūrat al-A‘rāf, 157.

attentive, sincere, righteous and pure individuals—the likes of whom in their purity were never witnessed by the heavens—for the service of His Prophet's Sunna through study, practice, preservation and dissemination.

Hundreds of thousands of the greatest of this civilization have sacrificed their lives for the service of the Prophetic Sunna. Allah ﷺ created them for this purpose, so he endowed them with phenomenal memory, granted them sincerity, made the pen subservient to them, put time in their service, and conferred blessings in their lives and deeds. As a result, a voluminous and unparalleled library of ḥadīth was produced. They diversified their methods in the field by utilizing every means at their disposal.¹ To proceed: it was in this academic atmosphere that Imām Bukhārī was born in a house of knowledge and piety.

Family

[His grandfather was] Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīrah ibn Bardizbah al-Ju'fi. Mughīrah embraced Islam at the hands of al-Yamān al-Ju'fi, who was the governor of Bukhara and the grandfather of the ḥadīth scholar 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Yamān al-Ju'fi al-Musnidī.²

In *Kitāb ath-Thiqāt*, Ibn Ḥibbān includes Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm, Bukhārī's father, and states, "He narrates from Ḥammād ibn Zayd and Mālik, and the Iraqis narrate from him."³ In *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Bukhārī writes, "Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīrah heard from Mālik and Ḥammād ibn Zayd, and he accompanied Ibn al-Mubārak." In *Tārīkh al-Islām*, Dhahabī writes, "Bukhārī's father was among the scrupulous scholars. He narrated from Abū Mu'āwiyah and others. Ahmād ibn

¹ On the diverse styles of authorship adopted by the ḥadīth scholars, see Kattānī's *ar-Risālah al-Mustāṭrafah fī Bayān Mashhūr Kutub as-Sunnah al-Musharrrafah*.

² [Ismā'īl al-'Ajlūnī (d. 1162 AH) writes that he did not come across any mention of Imām Bukhārī getting married, let alone having any children. See 'Ajlūnī, *Idā'at al-Badrayn*, 3. On the other hand, Bakr ibn Munīr relates an incident involving Bukhārī and "his son Ahmād." See Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 6:156; Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:447. However, al-Hākim clearly states that Bukhārī and Muslim left behind no male offspring. See al-Hākim, *Mārifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 51. Trans.]

³ *Thiqāt*, 8:98.

Ja'far and Naṣr ibn al-Ḥusayn narrated from him."¹ Ishāq ibn Ahmād ibn Khalaf said that he heard Bukhārī say, "My father heard from Mālik ibn Anas, saw Ḥammād ibn Zayd, and shook hands with Ibn al-Mubārak using both hands."² Ahmād ibn Ḥafṣ states, "I came to Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm during his final moments and he said, 'I do not know of a single dirham from all my assets that was earned through dubious means.'"

It was into this family of piety and knowledge that Imām Bukhārī was born on the 13 Shawwāl 194 AH after the Jumu'ah prayer in Bukhara. Muḥammad ibn Ahmād al-Balkhī relates from his father that Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl lost his sight during his childhood. His mother then had a dream of Ibrāhīm ﷺ who gave her glad tidings, "Indeed, Allah has restored your son's sight."³ He lost his father at a young age and was reared by his righteous mother. Allah blessed him with a miraculous memory, just as He inspired him to be particular with his time. Bukhārī began writing at an early age. By age of eighteen, he authored *Qaḍāyā as-Ṣahābah wa 't-Tābi'īn* (Verdicts of the Companions and the Successors). There are countless works, lengthy and brief, to his name.

Travels, Study and Authorship

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Warrāq, Bukhārī's copyist, states,

I asked Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, "How did you begin your study of ḥadīth?" He replied, "I was inspired to memorize ḥadīths while I was still in school."

Correcting his teacher: I then asked, "How old were you?" He said, "I

¹ *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 19:239.

² *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:393; *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*, 2:213.

³ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:393; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 478. [Hudā as-Sārī is Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī's prolegomenon to *Fath al-Bārī*, his commentary on *Šaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. The title of the prolegomenon is commonly vowelized as *Hady as-Sārī*, but the correct vowelization is *Hudā as-Sārī*. This is based on Ibn Ḥajar's handwritten vowelization of the title in one of the manuscripts of the book. Moreover, the word *hudā* is linguistically more appropriate than *hady* in this context. See the editor's preface to the ar-Risālah al-Ālamīyyah edition of *Fath al-Bārī* (2013) 1:38; 'Awwāmah, annotations on *al-Madkhāl ilā 'Ilm as-Sunan*, 2:615. Trans.]

was ten years old or younger. I left school when I was ten. I frequented the study-circle of Dākhilī and others. One day while teaching, Dākhilī said, 'Sufyān, from Abū 'z-Zubayr, from Ibrāhīm.' I told him, 'Abū 'z-Zubayr did not narrate from Ibrāhīm,' but he rebuked me. I said to him, 'Consult your source-text.' He went home, consulted the source-text, returned, and said, 'How is it supposed to be?' I said, 'It is Zubayr ibn 'Adī, from Ibrāhīm.' He took my pen, amended his book, and said, 'You were right.'"

Bukhārī was asked, "How old were you when you corrected him?" He said, "Eleven years old. At the age of sixteen, I memorized the works of Ibn al-Mubārak and Waki', and I was versed in the discourse of these people [i.e. the partisans of *ra'y*]. I then left with my mother and brother Ahmad to Makkah. After completing the pilgrimage, my brother returned with my mother while I remained behind in the pursuit of ḥadīth."¹

He also said,

Authoring Books: I heard Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il say, "At the age of eighteen, I began compiling the verdicts and verbal proclamations of the Companions and the Successors. This was during the era of 'Ubaydullāh ibn Mūsā. At that time, I wrote the *Tārīkh* by the Prophet's grave during the moonlit nights. Nearly everyone in history has an anecdote [that I could document], but I disliked lengthening the book."²

Academic Adjudication: And I heard him say, "I came to Ḥumaydī once when I was eighteen years old. He was disputing an issue related to ḥadīth with someone. When Ḥumaydī saw me, he proclaimed, 'The one to adjudicate between us has arrived.' When they both presented their arguments to me, I judged in Ḥumaydī's favour. His interlocutor would have died a disbeliever had he persisted and died upon his claim."³

¹ *Tārīkh Baghdađ*, 2:7; *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:393.

² *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:400.

³ *Ibid.*, 12:401.

Al-Faḍl ibn Iṣhāq al-Bazzāz said: Ahmad ibn Minhāl al-Ābid narrated to us that Abū Bakr al-Āyan said, "We wrote from Bukhārī at the door of Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firyābī and he did not have facial hair. We asked, 'How old are you?' He said, 'Seventeen years old.'"¹

Iṣhāq ibn Rāhawayh told his students, "You should compile an abridgment on the Prophet's *sunan*." This remark settled in Bukhārī's heart. Abū 'Abdillāh [al-Bukhārī] said, "I was in the company of Iṣhāq ibn Rāhawayh when one of our companions said, 'You should compile an abridgement of the Prophet's *sunan*. That settled in my heart, so I set out to compile this book.'"²

Muhammad ibn Abī Ḥātim said,

I heard Bukhārī say, "I entered Baghdađ for the eighth and final time—each time I sat with Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal. As I bade him farewell, he said, 'Abū 'Abdillāh, how could you leave knowledge and the scholars, and return to Khurasan?' I still recall his words to this day."³

Abū 'Abd [Allāh] al-Ḥākim writes that Bukhārī first arrived in Nishapur in 209 AH and visited again for the final time in 250 AH, whereupon he resided and taught ḥadīth for five years consecutively.

[Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabī] said, "While staying in Bukhārī's house one night, I observed that he rose and lit the lamp at least eighteen times to make notes of things that came to his mind." Muhammad ibn Abī Ḥātim said, "During our travels, Abū 'Abdillāh and I would share a house except during the midsummer days. He would rise fifteen to twenty times in one night, lighting a lamp each time to write ḥadīths and take notes."⁴

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* [A number of factors motivated Imām Bukhārī to compile his *Şahīh*. Apart from Ibn Rāhawayh's suggestion mentioned here, the main factor was a desire to gather rigorously authentic Prophetic ḥadīths. A third factor was a dream that Bukhārī had involving the Prophet ﷺ, which was interpreted as him being chosen to dispel lies against the Prophet ﷺ. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Hudā as-Sārī*, 6–7. In *al-Wajh as-Şabīḥ fi Khatm al-Jamī' as-Şahīh*, Ibn 'Allān (d. 1057 AH) opines that all three factors collectively motivated him. See 'Awwāmah, annotations on *Tadrīb ar-Rāwī*, 2:266. Trans.]

³ *Ibid.*, 12:403.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12:404.

Hâni' ibn an-Nâdr said,

We were in the company of Muhammâd ibn Yûsuf al-Fîryâbî in the Levant. We enjoyed ourselves like young men eating mulberries and the like. Muhammâd ibn Ismâ'îl was with us, but he did not partake in our activities; he was busy seeking knowledge.¹

Imâm Bukhârî details his dedication to seeking knowledge in the following words:

During my stay in Nîshâpur, I would receive letters from my relatives in Bûkhârâ conveying their greetings. I would intend to respond to their greetings, but their names would escape me, so I never replied—however, rarely did I forget knowledge.

Explaining his method of writing as a student, he said,

My writing of ̄adîth was unlike that of others: If I wrote from a competent narrator, I asked him his name, agnomen, affiliation and background in ̄adîth. Yet if he was lacking [such competency], I requested his source-text and copied it. As for others, they care little about what they write or how they write it.²

Memory, Knowledge and Intelligence

In *Târîkh Bûkhârâ*, Muhammâd ibn Aḥmad Ghunjâr said,

I heard Abû 'Amr Aḥmad ibn Muhammâd al-Muqrî: I heard Mahib ibn Sulaym: I heard Ja'far ibn Muhammâd ibn al-Qaṭṭân, the Imâm of Karmîniyah: I heard Muhammâd ibn Ismâ'îl say, "I wrote from over a thousand teachers, and from each teacher over ten thousand ̄adîths. I remember the chain for every ̄adîth that I know."³

Muhammâd ibn Abî Ḥâtim said,

¹ Ibid., 12:405.

² Ibid., 12:406. The editor vowelized the word *wa nasakhtuhu* ("and I copied it") incorrectly as *wa nuskhatuhu* ("and his copy"), leading others to do the same.

³ Ibid., 12:407.

Abû 'Abdillâh read to us *Kitâb al-Hibâh* (the Book of Gifting) and said, "Wâki's treatise on gifting only contains two or three *musnâd* ̄adîths [i.e. via unbroken chains] and 'Abdullâh ibn al-Mubârak's collections contain roughly five. However, this book of mine contains five hundred or more."

I heard Abû 'Abdillâh say, "I thought about the students of Anâs and three-hundred names came to mind immediately." I also heard him say, "I never visited anyone except that they benefited from me more than I benefited from them."¹

Ahyad ibn Abî Ja'far, the governor of Bûkhârâ, said,

Muhammâd ibn Ismâ'îl once said, "At times, I would write in the Levant a ̄adîth that I heard in Basra, and I would write in Egypt a ̄adîth that I heard in the Levant." I asked, "Abû 'Abdillâh, in its entirety?" He remained silent.²

Bukhârî once said, "I did not sleep last night until I counted the number of ̄adîths included in my works: there were roughly two-hundred thousand *musnâd* ̄adîths."³ Abû Bakr al-Kalwâdhâni said, "I never saw anyone like Muhammâd ibn Ismâ'îl: he would borrow a book from scholars, examine it briefly, and memorize most of the *atârâf* (first parts) of its ̄adîths."

Muhammâd ibn Yûsuf al-Firâbrî said,

I heard Abû Ja'far Muhammâd ibn Abî Ḥâtim al-Warrâq say in the appendix to Abû 'Abdillâh's *Shamâ'il*—I [Dhahabî] say: this is not found in the recension of Ibn Khalaf ash-Shîrâzî—"I heard Muhammâd ibn Ismâ'îl al-Bukhârî say, 'I did not start teaching ̄adîth until I recognized authentic from dubious, studied the books of *ra'y*, and visited Basra nearly five times. While there [in Basra], I wrote down every authentic ̄adîth found in Basra, except for what did not become apparent to me.'"⁴

¹ Ibid., 12:411.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 12:412.

⁴ Ibid., 12:416.

Yahyā ibn Ja'far al-Bikandī said, "If I could increase Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl's lifespan by sacrificing mine, I would have done so because my death would be the death of one man, but his death would result in the loss of knowledge." He once told Bukhārī, "Were it not for you, I would find no pleasure in living in Bukhara."¹

Scholarly Praise

Nu'aym ibn Hammād said, "Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl is the jurist of this Community (*ummah*)."² Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dawraqī said, "Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl is the jurist of this Community."³

Muḥammad ibn Abī Hātim said,

I heard Abū 'Abdillāh say, "The students of 'Amr ibn 'Alī al-Fallās discussed a particular ḥadīth with me, and I said, 'I do not recognize it.' They were pleased to know that, so they informed 'Amr, who said, 'A ḥadīth not recognized by Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl is not a ḥadīth.'"⁴

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf said,

We were with Abū 'Abdillāh in the company of Muḥammad ibn Bashshār, who asked him about a ḥadīth and he responded. He then said, "This is the most knowledgeable of Allah's creation in our times," pointing to Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl.⁵

Ismā'īl ibn Abī Uways said,

No one has taken [ḥadīths] from me like Muḥammad [ibn Ismā'īl]: he noticed that my source-texts were worn out, so he said, "Would you permit me to re-write them for you?" I responded affirmatively. He extracted all my ḥadīths with this ruse.⁶

Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb, the ḥadīth expert, relates from his father, "I

1 Ibid., 12:418.

2 Ibid., 12:419.

3 Ibid., 12:424.

4 Ibid., 12:420.

5 Ibid., 12:429.

6 Ibid., 12:430.

saw Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj sit in front of Bukhārī, asking him questions [by humbling himself] like a child."¹ Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdūn said, "I heard Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj tell Bukhārī, 'O teacher of teachers, master of the ḥadīth scholars, expert of subtle defects in ḥadīths, allow me to kiss your feet.'"²

Abū 'Īsā at-Tirmidhī said, "I have not seen anyone in Iraq or Khurasan more knowledgeable than Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl vis-à-vis subtle defects [in ḥadīths], history, and familiarity with chains of transmission."³

Dhahabī relates an interesting anecdote from Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb ibn Dihyah:

Ramlī the Liar said, "Bukhārī is unknown: no one besides Firabrī transmitted from him." In response, Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb said,

By Allah, he has lied in this matter and transgressed. May his mouth be filled with rocks! Bukhārī is celebrated for knowledge and its acquisition; his memory and brilliance are undisputed; he travelled far and wide, seeking out reports and chains of transmission. Many scholars have narrated from him. As for his compilation, he presented it to the ḥadīth expert of his age, Abū Zur'ah, who said, "Your book is authentic apart from three narrations."⁴

Teachers and Students

Before he travelled abroad, he studied ḥadīth in Bukhara with 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ja'far ibn al-Yamān

1 Ibid., 12:432.

2 Ibid., 12:432.

3 Ibid., 12:438. [A marginal note in the manuscript of *Siyar* states that the last part of this report is an oversight from Ibn Dihyah, because it was Imām Muslim, not Imām Bukhārī, who presented his *Şahih* to Abū Zur'ah. See the editor's annotation on *Siyar*, op. cit. It is reported, however, that Bukhārī presented the *Şahih* to a number of experts including Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, Yahyā ibn Ma'in and 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī. See Ibn Khayr, *Fihrist*, 132. Although there are some issues with this report's chain of transmission, given that the aforementioned experts were Bukhārī's direct teachers, it is not difficult to accept that he could have presented the *Şahih* to them. See Khaldūn al-Āhdab, *al-Imām al-Bukhārī wa Jāmi'uhu as-Şahih*, p. 116; Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 94 (note 163). Trans.]

al-Ju'fī al-Musnidī, Muḥammad ibn Salām al-Bikandī and others who were not his senior teachers. In Balkh, he heard from Makki ibn Ibrāhīm, one of his senior teachers. In Merv, he heard from 'Abdān ibn 'Uthmān, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Shaqīq, Ṣadaqah ibn al-Faḍl and others. In Nishapur, [he heard] from Yahyā ibn Yahyā and others. In Rayy, he heard from Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā. In Baghdad, when he travelled to Iraq in the latter part of 210 AH, he heard from Muḥammad ibn 'Isā at-Ṭabbā', Surayj ibn an-Nu'mān, Muḥammad ibn Sābiq and 'Affān. In Basra, [he heard] from Abū 'Āsim an-Nabil, Anṣārī, 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Ḥammād ash-Shu'aythī—the student of Ibn 'Awn, Muḥammad ibn 'Ar'ārah, Ḥajjāj ibn Minhāl, Badal ibn al-Muhabbar, 'Abdullāh ibn Rajā', and many others. In Kufa, he heard from 'Ubaydullāh ibn Mūsā, Abū Nu'aym, Khalid ibn Makhlad, Ṭalq ibn Ghannām, Khālid ibn Yazīd al-Muqrī' (with whom he studied the Qur'ānic recital according to Ḥamzah). In Makkah, he heard from Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Muqrī', Khallād ibn Yahyā, Hassān ibn Hassān al-Baṣrī, Abū 'l-Walīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Azraqī and Ḥumaydī. In Madīnah, he heard from 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Uwaysī, Ayyūb ibn Sulaymān ibn Bilāl and Ismā'il ibn Abī Uways. In Egypt, he heard from Sa'īd ibn Abī Maryam, Aḥmad ibn Ishkāb, 'Abdullāh ibn Yūsuf, Aṣbagh, and many others. In the Levant, he heard from Abū 'l-Yamān, Ādām ibn Abī Iyās, 'Alī ibn 'Ayyāsh and Bishr ibn Shu'ayb. In addition, he heard from Abū 'l-Mughīrah 'Abd al-Quddūs, Aḥmad ibn Khālid al-Wahbī, Muḥammad ibn Yusuf al-Firyābī, Abū Mušir, and many others.

Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥātim said,

I heard him saying, "When I arrived in Balkh, the locals asked me to dictate to them from every teacher I wrote ḥadīths from. So, I dictated a thousand ḥadīths from a thousand teachers I had written from." A month before his demise, I heard him say, "I wrote from 1,080 people, each a partisan of ḥadīth who opined that faith (*īmān*) is a verbal proclamation and action; it increases and decreases."¹

¹ Ibid., 12:395.

Bukhārī narrated from Muḥammad ibn Yahyā adh-Dhuhlī abundantly—but concealed his name (*yudallisuhu*), Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Mukharrimī and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahīm Ṣā'iqah—they were his peers.

He heard from Abū Mušir, but he was uncertain whether he heard directly. He mentions outside of the *Ṣahīh*, "Abū Mušir narrated to us, or someone narrated to us from him."

He narrated from Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Wāqid al-Harrānī, whom he met in Iraq.

He never entered Algeria. He said, "I visited Mu'allā ibn Manṣūr ar-Rāzī in Baghdad in the year [2]10 AH."

Countless people narrated from him, among whom were Abū 'Isā at-Tirmidhī, Abū Ḥātim, Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Harbī, Abū Bakr ibn Abī 'd-Dunyā, Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Amr ibn Abī 'Āsim, Ṣalīḥ ibn Muḥammad Jazarah, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Ḥaḍramī Muṭayyan, Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil an-Nasafī, 'Abdullāh ibn Nājiyah, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Khuzaymah, 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Bujayr, Abū Quraysh Muḥammad ibn Jumu'ah, Yahyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣā'id, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf—the transmitter of the *Ṣahīh*, Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad Mizbāzah [*sic*], Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd, Ḥusayn and Qāsim the sons of Maḥāmilī, 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ashqar, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Fāris, Maḥmūd ibn 'Anbar an-Nasafī, and countless others. Muslim also narrated from him outside his *Ṣahīh*. It is said that Nasa'ī narrated from him in the chapter of fasting in his *Sunan*, but this is not accurate. However, in his *Kunā*, Nasa'ī relates material via 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad al-Khaffāf from Bukhārī.¹

Demise

After extensive travels in the pursuit of knowledge, he returned to his hometown Bukhara as a teacher where he was greeted by nearly the entire town. He stayed there for a few days until a conflict arose

¹ Ibid., 12:396–397.

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Demise

After extensive travels in the pursuit of knowledge, he returned to his hometown Bukhara as a teacher where he was greeted by nearly the entire town. He stayed there for a few days until a conflict arose

¹ Ibid., 12:396–397.

between him and Khālid ibn Aḥmad adh-Dhuhlī, the governor of Bukhara, so he was eventually ordered to leave the city.¹ It is said that the governor of Bukhara sent a message to Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, "Bring me the *Jāmi'*, the *Tārīkh* and other books, so that I may hear them from you." Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il told the messenger,

I will not humiliate knowledge by taking it to the doors of people. If you are interested, come to my house or the local masjid. If this does not please you, then you may prevent me from holding a study-circle—you are the sultan, after all—so that I have an excuse in the court of Allah, because I will not hoard knowledge due to the words of the Prophet, "Whoever is sought for knowledge but hides it, he will be bridled with reins of fire."

This was the cause of their conflict.² Thus, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il left to Khartank where he stayed with family members.³ One night, he was heard supplicating after the 'Ishā' prayer, "O Allah, the earth has become restricted for me despite its vastness, so take me back to You." He passed away before the end of the month. His grave is in Khartank.⁴ He passed away on Friday on the eve of 'Id al-Fitr at the time of the 'Ishā' prayer. He was buried on Saturday after the Zuhra prayer on 1 Shawwāl 256 AH. He lived 13 days short of 82 years.

¹ *Ibid.*, 12:463.

² [For more context on the roots of their conflict, see Dhahabī, *Siyar Alām an-Nubalā'*, 12:617. Trans.]

³ [Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī relates that the locals of Khartank, a city near Samarcand, state that the area received its name after Imām Bukhārī's demise: Khartank means "crowded space," due to the crowds of people who visit Bukhārī's grave. See Haytamī, *Fath al-Ilāh fī Sharḥ al-Miṣkāh*, 1:79. It is worth noting, however, that Samānī mentions that Bukhārī passed away in the home of Abū Maṣnūr Ghālib ibn Ibrāhīm, whose affiliation was Khartankī. See Samānī, *Ansāb*, 5:79. Trans.]

⁴ *Tārīkh Baghdaḍ*, 2:34.

Works¹

1. *Akhbār aṣ-Ṣifāt* (Reports on the Divine Attributes).²
2. *Al-Adab al-Mufrad* (The Independent Book on Manners). It was transmitted from Bukhārī by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jalil al-Bazzār.³ It has been published multiple times in various places.
3. *Asāmī aṣ-Ṣahābah* (Names of the Companions).⁴ Ibn Mandah mentioned it.
4. *Kitāb Aṣḥāb an-Nabī* (Book on the Prophet's Companions).⁵
5. *Ashribah* (Drinks). Dāraqutnī mentioned it in *al-Muṭalif wa 'l-Mukhtalif*.
6. *Iṭiṣām* (The Adherence).⁶
7. *Kitāb al-Īmān* (Book of Faith).⁷
8. *Bad' al-Makhlūqāt* (Beginning of Creation).
9. *Birr al-Wālidayn* (Respect for Parents). Ustādh Nizām Ya'qūbī informed me that this book was discovered recently in Morocco and is currently being edited.⁸
10. *At-Tārīkh al-Awsat* (The Medium History). There has been confusion between *at-Tārīkh al-Awsat* and *at-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr*. *At-Tārīkh al-Awsat* was transmitted by Zanjawayh and Khaffāf, as

¹ [A number of books may be added to this list, such as 1) *ar-Radd' alā 'l-Jahmiyyah*; 2) *Mashyakħah*; and 3) *Intiqā' al-Bukhārī min Ḥadīthihī li-Ahl Baghdaḍ*. To date, only about ten of the books listed here are published. There is little information about the nature of the other works. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Bastawī questions the ascription of some of these books to Imām Bukhārī, particularly *at-Tārīkh fī Mārifat Ruwāt al-Ḥadīth*, *at-Tawārikh wa 'l-Ansāb*, *Aqīdah* and *Akhbār aṣ-Ṣifāt*. It is possible, he postulates, that these works were extracted from his other larger works; hence, they were not independent books compiled by Bukhārī. The same can be said about some of the other works listed here for which we have little to no information. See Mubārakfūrī, *Sīrat al-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 1:309–311. Trans.]

² *Tārīkh at-Turāth al-Ārabi*, 1:259.

³ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 1:2:60.

⁶ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Iṭiṣām*, no. 7271.

⁷ *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 1:2:158.

⁸ [*Birr al-Wālidayn* has recently been published several times. Trans.]

mentioned by Ibn Khayr in his *Fihrist*.¹ *At-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr* was transmitted by 'Abdullāh al-Ashqar.

11. *At-Tawārīkh wa 'l-Ansāb* (Chronologies and Genealogies). Fuat Sezgin mentioned it.²
12. *At-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (The Minor History). This was transmitted from Bukhārī by 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ashqar.³ It is mentioned that several manuscripts of this work are available in Vancouver, Rampur, and Buhar Library in Calcutta, India. It is difficult to say with certainty that these are manuscripts of *at-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr* owing to the confusion between *at-Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Awsat*.
13. *At-Tārīkh fī Ma'rīfat Ruwāt wa Naqalat al-Akhbār wa 's-Sunan wa Tamīz Thiqātihim min Du'afā'ihim wa Tārīkh Wafātihim* (History: Recognizing the Narrators and Transmitters of Reports and *Sunan*, Distinguishing the Reliable Among them from the Weak, and the Chronologies of their Death Dates).⁴
14. *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (The Major History). It was printed in Hyderabad, India.
15. *Kitāb at-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* (The Major Exegesis). Bukhārī's copyist said, "While in Firabr, I saw him lie down while authoring *Kitāb at-Tafsīr*.⁵
16. *Al-Jāmī aṣ-Ṣahīh al-Mukhtaṣar al-Musnad min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi* (The Authentic Abridged *Musnad* Compendium of the Prophet's Affairs, Deeds and Days). Ibn Ḥajar said, "Ibrāhim ibn Ma'qil is among the transmitters of the *Jāmī* whose recension reached us continuously through authorization. He missed a portion from the ending of the book, which he transmitted through authorization. Another transmitter is Hammād ibn Shākir an-Nasawī. The re-

1 *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

2 *Tārīkh at-Turāth*, 1:258.

3 *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

4 *Tārīkh at-Turāth*, 1:257.

5 *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 4:2:232 and 265; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 2:14; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

cension which has been transmitted through continuous audition in this era and before is that of Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Mātar ibn Sāliḥ ibn Bishr al-Firabrī."¹

17. *Al-Jāmī aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (The Minor Compendium).²
18. *Al-Jāmī al-Kabīr* (The Major Compendium). This book is lost. Ibn Ḥajar writes that Ibn Ṭāhir mentioned it.³
19. *Khalq Af'al al-Ibād* (Creating the Actions of the Bondsmen). This was transmitted from Bukhārī by both Yusuf ibn Rayhān ibn 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad and Firabrī. It was printed several times.
20. *Raf' al-Yadayn fī 'ṣ-Ṣalāh* (Raising the Hands in Prayer). This was transmitted from Bukhārī by Maḥmūd ibn Ishāq al-Khuza'i.
21. *Riqāq* (Softening the Hearts). Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentioned it.⁴
22. *As-Sunan fī 'l-Fiqh* (Sunnahs Related to Jurisprudence). Ibn Nadīm mentioned it in the *Fihrist*.⁵
23. *Ad-Du'afā' aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (The Minor Book on Weak Transmitters). This was transmitted from Bukhārī by Dawlābī, Abū Ja'far Muṣabbiḥ ibn Sa'īd and Ādām ibn Mūsā.⁶
24. *Ad-Du'afā' al-Kabīr* (The Major Book on Weak Transmitters).⁷
25. *Kitāb al-Ātīq* (The Ancient Book). In *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Bukhārī writes, "Bakr ibn Mubashshir: he narrated from Abū Yahyā, and Muḥammad ibn Yahyā narrated from him. He is Ḥijāzī, as found in *Kitāb al-Ātīq*.⁸ He writes, "Thābit ibn Ma'bad al-Muḥāribī: Mis'ar related his statement from 'Ayyāsh al-Kulaybī. In 'Ātīq there is no qualification."⁹ He writes, "Sulaymān ibn Abī Sulaymān, the freed slave of Ibn 'Abbās—as mentioned in 'Ātīq." He writes, "Jābir ibn Rustum al-Baṣrī: he narrated from Shaybah

1 *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

2 *Kashf aṣ-Zunūn*, 1:564.

3 *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

4 *Kashf aṣ-Zunūn*, 2:1420.

5 *Fihrist*, 322.

6 *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

7 [See, Bastawī, annotations on *Sīrat al-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 291–293. Trans.]

8 *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 1:2:95.

9 *Ibid.*, 1:2:169.

ibn Niṣāḥ, and Zayd ibn Ḥubāb narrated from him—as found in *‘Atīq*.¹

26. *Aqīdah* (The Creed).
27. *Kitāb al-‘Ilal* (Hidden Defects). Ibn Mandah mentioned it.²
28. *Fawā’id* (Useful Points). Tirmidhī mentioned this in his *Jāmī* under the chapter of the Virtues of Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaydillāh.³
29. *Al-Qirā’ah Khalf al-Imām* (Recitation behind the Imām). This was transmitted from Bukhārī by Maḥmūd ibn Iṣhāq al-Khuza‘ī. There are several prints of this book.
30. *Qaḍāyā as-Şahābah wa ‘t-Tābi‘īn wa Aqāwīlīhim* (Verdicts and Pronouncements of the Companions and the Successors). This was his first book, which he wrote at the age of eighteen.⁴
31. *Kunā* (Agnomens). It was published in Hyderabad in 1360 AH/1941 CE.
32. *Mukhtaṣar* (The Abridgement).⁵ In the entry of ‘Urs ibn ‘Amīrah in *at-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, Bukhārī writes, “He is from the Companions. He said, ‘I heard the Prophet say, ‘Indeed, a slave of Allah does the deeds of those destined for Paradise. . .’ I have explained this in *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar*.”
33. *Kitāb al-Mabsūt* (The Extensive Compendium). Maḥīb ibn Sulaym narrated it from Bukhārī.⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar said, “Khalīlī mentioned it in *Irshād*.” See Maḥīb ibn Sulaym’s entry.⁷

¹ Ibid., 1:2:204. [There appears to be no separate book entitled *‘Atīq*. Rather, the references to *‘Atīq* (lit. ancient) are from the transmitter of *at-Tārikh al-Kabīr* or Bukhārī himself whereby the given passage is found differently in an earlier edition of *at-Tārikh al-Kabīr*. Hence, *Kitāb al-‘Atīq*, *al-Kitāb al-‘Atīq* and *‘Atīq* are simply references to an earlier edition of the book. As will be mentioned later, Bukhārī revised *at-Tārikh al-Kabīr* at least three times, so there are at minimum three editions of the book. See Mu‘allimi’s annotations—signed with the letter *ḥā*—in *at-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, 2:169, no. 89; cf. idem, “Introduction,” in, *Muwaddih Awhām al-Jam‘ wa ‘t-Tafsīq*, 1:11–12. Trans.]

² *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

³ *Jāmī at-Tirmidhī*, 5:309.

⁴ *Tārikh Baghdād*, 7:2.

⁵ *At-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, 4:1:87.

⁶ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

⁷ *Irshād*, 3:973.

34. *Al-Musnad [al-Kabīr]* (The Major Musnad). Firābrī mentioned it,¹ and Bukhārī said, “Abdullāh ibn Abī Bakr as-Şiddīq ibn Abī Quhāfah: he is ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Uthmān at-Taymī al-Qurashī. He passed away before ‘Umar. He would frequent the Prophet while he was in the cave. We have explained this in the *Musnad*.²”
35. *Kitāb al-Hibah* (The Book of Gifting), which comprises 500 ḥadīths or more. His copyist mentioned it.³
36. *Kitāb al-Wuḥdān* (The Book of Singular Reports).⁴

COMPILATION OF THE **ŞAHİH**

[Imām Bukhārī’s magnum opus was not an ordinary compilation of ḥadīth, but it was an outcome of sixteen years of continuous scholarly effort. The following section outlines the various steps Bukhārī took in producing the *Şahīh*.]

Stage 1: Selecting Narrators

[Abū Bakr] al-Ḥāzimī writes,

These scholars have specific methods for selecting the sources of ḥadīths, which we will address briefly. The methodology of those who narrate authentic reports [*sahīh*] is to examine the status of the upright narrator in respect to his teachers and sources, who are also reliable [*thiqah*]. His authentic well-established [*sahīh thābit*] ḥadīth from some of them will definitely be included. By contrast, his ḥadīth from others is defective, which will only be included as support and corroboration.

¹ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

² *At-Tārikh al-Kabīr*, 3:5:2. [Keeping in mind that the title of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* also bears the description *al-Musnad* and that the incident under discussion is cited in the *Şahīh* (no. 3905/5807), it is possible that Bukhārī is referring to his *Şahīh*. Trans.]

³ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492.

⁴ *Kashf az-Zunūn*, 2:1469; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 492. [*Kitāb al-Wuḥdān* lists those Companions from whom only one ḥadīth is narrated. Trans.]

This is a complex matter that is understood by recognizing the ranks and merits of the students transmitting from a particular teacher. The following example illustrates this point: Zuhri's students are of five categories, each of which is distinguished from the other. The first category is of the utmost authenticity [*al-ghāyahfi 's-ṣīḥḥah*] and is the utmost objective of Bukhārī.

The second category is the same as the first in terms of probity [*adālah*]. The first category, however, combines memory [*hifz*] and precision [*itqān*] along with lengthy companionship with Zuhri, such that among them were those who accompanied him in his travels and residence. The second category accompanied Zuhri only for a short while and, therefore, did not develop an affinity with his ḥadīths, and they are less precise than the first category. They meet the criteria of Muslim.

The third category comprises transmitters who accompanied Zuhri like the first category, but they are not free from the blemishes of criticism [*jarh*] and are, therefore, at times accepted and at times rejected. They meet the criteria of Abū Dāwūd and Nasa'i.

The fourth category comprises transmitters who are similar to the third category in terms of criticism and accreditation [*ta'*ḍīl], but they lack affinity with Zuhri's ḥadīths due to their brief exposure to him. They meet the criteria of Abū 'Isā [at-Tirmidhī].

The fifth category comprises weak [*du'afā'*] and unknown narrators [*majhūlīn*]. Those who compile ḥadīths based on chapters may only include their ḥadīths for consideration [*i'tibār*] and support [*istishhād*]. They are found in [the works of] Abū Dāwūd and those with less stringent criteria, but not in [the works of] the Two Shaykhs [Bukhārī and Muslim].¹

The first category comprises the likes of Mālik, Ibn 'Uyaynah, 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Umar, Yūnus al-Ayli, 'Uqayl al-Ayli, Shu'ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah, et al. The second category comprises the likes of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Amr al-Awzā'i, al-Layth ibn Sa'd, an-Nu'mān ibn

Rāshid, 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Khālid ibn Musāfir, et al. The third category comprises the likes of Sufyān ibn Husayn as-Sulamī, Ja'far ibn Barqān, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥafṣ al-'Umarī, Zam'ah ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Makkī, et al. The fourth category comprises the likes of Ishāq ibn Yahyā al-Kalbī, Mu'āwiyah ibn Yahyā aṣ-Ṣadafī, Ishāq ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Abī Farwah al-Madanī, Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd, al-Muthannā ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ, et al. The fifth category comprises the likes of Bahr ibn Kanīz as-Saqqā', al-Ḥakam ibn 'Abdillāh al-Ayli, 'Abd al-Quddūs ibn Ḥabib ad-Dimashqī, Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd al-Maṣlūb, et al. There are many more, but I have sufficed with the aforementioned. I have written an independent book where I mentioned them in detail.

At times, Bukhārī will include narrators of the second category, Muslim of the third category, and Abū Dāwūd from the prominent narrators of the fourth category based on circumstances that demand it.¹

Commenting on Ḥāzimī's discussion, Ibn Ḥajar writes, "Bukhārī narrates from the second group predominantly in the chapter headings. Occasionally, he will narrate some ḥadīths from the third category in the chapter headings." He further writes,

The example mentioned here pertains to the prolific transmitters. The respective students of Nāfi', A'mash, Qatādah, et al. will be analogized accordingly. As for non-prolific transmitters, then Bukhārī and Muslim narrated their ḥadīths based on reliability, probity and infrequent error. However, if these transmitters achieved a high degree of trust [*qawī l-i'timād*], then Bukhārī and Muslim included their isolated transmission [*fard*], as is the case with Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī. By contrast, there are those among them who are not heavily relied upon, so they included only their corroborated narrations, and that is most frequent.²

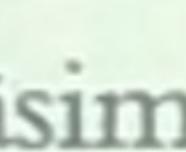
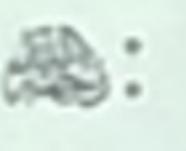
A Glance at Bukhārī's Criteria: I have already cited Ḥāzimī's and Ibn Ḥajar's respective remarks specifically on Bukhārī's criteria and

¹ Ḥāzimī, *Shurūt al-Ā'immah al-Khamsah*, 155–156; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 9–10.

² *Hudā as-Sārī*, 10.

methodology of including the ḥadīths of some narrators to the exclusion of others. Furthermore, Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdīsī writes,

It has not been related from Bukhārī, Muslim or those who we mentioned after them that they said, "I will include in my book only that which meets such-and-such a criterion." Rather, the criteria of each one of them are deduced through a study of their books.¹

A number of experts have cited this observation, including Mundhīr (d. 656 AH) in his treatise on criticism and accreditation,² Suyūṭī in *Tadrib ar-Rāwī* and Qāsimī in *Qawā'id at-Tahdīth*. It is my understanding that Bukhārī  did in fact articulate some of his criteria for selecting transmitters, but those who reject the notion that Bukhārī adhered to any criteria did not take note of this. This [contention of mine] is evidenced by the following words of Tirmidhī :

Some scholars have criticized Ibn Abī Laylā due to his memory. Aḥmad said, "Ibn Abī Laylā's ḥadīths may not be adduced as proof." Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl [al-Bukhārī] said, "Ibn Abī Laylā is truthful, but I do not narrate from him because his authentic reports cannot be distinguished from the inauthentic ones. I do not narrate anything from those who are like this."³

Stage 2: Criteria for Writing ḥadīths

[As quoted earlier,] Bukhārī said,

My writing of ḥadīth was unlike that of others: If I wrote from a competent narrator, I asked him his name, agnomen, affiliation and

¹ *Shurūṭ al-Ā'immah as-Sittah*, 85–86. [Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah aptly notes that there are scattered remarks related from these authors in this regard. Nonetheless, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd and Tirmidhī have written on some of the prerequisites of their compilations. Likewise, the titles of their respective works shed light on the nature of their content. Trans.]

² *Jawāb al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mundhīrī 'an As'īlah fī 'l-Jarḥ wa 't-Tādīl*, 90.

³ *Sunan at-Tirmidhī*, 2:199. [In *al-'Ilal al-Kabīr* (p. 389), Tirmidhī relates similar remarks from Bukhārī about Zam'ah ibn Ṣalīḥ. As such, this criterion of rejecting a narrator was applied consistently. Trans.]

background in ḥadīth. Yet if he was lacking [such competency], I requested his source-text and copied it. As for others, they care little about what they write or how they write it.¹

Transmission from weak narrators: Therein lay the secret behind his inclusion of some weak narrators, the majority of whom were his teachers: by relying on their source-texts, he prevented their inherent weakness from affecting their narrations. Bukhārī exclusively transmitted from 435 transmitters, from whom Muslim did not transmit. Roughly 80 of them were criticized,² most of whom were his direct teachers and whose ḥadīths he personally analyzed.³ Bukhārī predominantly includes their ḥadīths for corroboration and support [*shawāhid*], not as primary reports.⁴ That is why experts, despite their preoccupation with critiquing the hadīths of the *Şahīh*, were unable to point out various types of weakness except in rare cases. Ibn Ḥajar said, "The number of these—i.e. criticized ḥadīths—in Bukhārī's book is 110, some of which Muslim also included: Muslim included 32 of these ḥadīths while Bukhārī exclusively narrated 78 ḥadīths."⁵ This is Bukhārī's general methodology of transmission, from which some of his other criteria may be inferred.⁶

¹ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:406.

² *Fath al-Mughīth*, 1:9.

³ *Ibid.*, 1:23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:30.

⁵ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 346.

⁶ [*Şahīh al-Bukhārī* comprises various types of narrations: 1) primary ḥadīths (*uṣūl*); 2) corroborating ḥadīths (*mutābāṭ*); 3) ḥadīths with truncated chains (*mu'allaqāt*, lit. "suspended" reports); and 4) non-Prophetic reports (*āthār*). The last two types are found in the chapter headings (*tarājim*). The requisite of authenticity (*ṣihħah*) includes the primary ḥadīths, not necessarily the other categories of reports. This explanation is substantiated by the title of the *Şahīh*: *al-Jāmi'* al-Musnad as-Şahīh al-Mukhtaṣar min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi (The Authentic Abridged *Musnad* Compendium of the Prophet's Affairs, Deeds and Days), which suggests that the clause of authenticity primarily applies to the *musnad* reports, i.e. Prophetic ḥadīths with continuous chains of transmission. In fact, corroborating ḥadīths will occasionally reach the level of mere soundness (*ḥasan*). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Hudā as-Sārī*, 19; 'Awwāmah, annotations on *Tadrib ar-Rāwī*, 2:280 and 289; cf. Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad*, 256–260.

In the prolegomenon to *Fath al-Bārī*, Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar writes that the total number

Stage 3: Selection of Material

Imam Bukhārī frequently reflected on which material to select for his works. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Bukhārī [al-Firabri] said, "While staying in Bukhārī's house one night, I observed that he rose and lit the lamp at least eighteen times to make notes of things that came to his mind."¹ This was also his habit when travelling. His copyist said, "During our travels, Abū 'Abdillāh and I would share one house except during the midsummer days. He would rise fifteen to twenty times in one night, lighting a lamp each time to write ḥadīths and take notes."²

Stage 4: Compilation of Master Works

After an initial process of selecting sources, it appears that he would write a master work, which he would further condense into an abridged version. Then after publicizing it, he would continuously improve, omit and add to it. Ḥāfiẓ [Abū] 'l-Fadl ibn Ṭāhir said, "Before compiling the *Şahīh*, Bukhārī wrote a book entitled the *Mabsūt* where he collected all his ḥadīths in chapters. He then searched for the most authentic ḥadīths per the outline he drafted and included them with all their routes."³

of primary ḥadīths including repetitions is 7397; suspended ḥadīths are 1341; and corroborating ḥadīths and allusions to alternative routes are 341. Thus, the total number of Prophetic ḥadīths including repetitions is 9079. This numbering does not account for non-Prophetic reports; these are 1608 in number. Therefore, the total number of reports from all categories is 10,687. The total number of ḥadīths with continuous chains excluding repetitions is 2602. Scholars have proffered different numbers of ḥadīths and reports in *Sahih al-Bukhārī* via the recension of Firabri. Ibn Hajar himself provides conflicting numberings. For the most part, this variation stems from a difference of methodology in counting the ḥadīths, not a substantial difference in their actual number. See Ibn Hajar, *Hudā as-Sārī*, 468–469 and 477; idem, *Fath al-Bārī*, 13:543; 'Awwāmah, annotations on *Tudrib ar-Rāwī*, 2:362–369; A'zamī, *Hadyat ad-Darārī li-Tālibī Şahīh al-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 153–157; Sallūm, "Introduction," in 'Adad Jamī' *Hadīth al-Jāmī' as-Şahīh*, 8. Trans.]

¹ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:404.

² Ibid. [This was quoted earlier, with the copyist identified as Muḥammad ibn Abi Hātim. Trans.]

³ *Tagħlīq at-Taħbiq*, 5:420.

This explanation is reinforced by Bukhārī's own practice in the *Şahīh*. He states,

'Abdullāh ibn Şabbāh narrated to us: Mu'tamir narrated to us, saying: I heard 'Awf say that Abū 'l-Minhāl narrated to him that he heard Abū Barzah say, "Allah will make you independent (*yughnīkum*)—or Allah elevated you (*nāashakum*)—with Islām and Muḥammad ﷺ." Abū 'Abdillāh said, "The word used here is *yughnīkum*, but it is supposed to be *nāashakum*. The original of *Kitāb al-Itiṣām* [chapter on Adhering to the Qur'ān and the Sunna] should be consulted."¹

Ibn Hajar goes on to explain [the above in the following terms]:

The words "The original of *Kitāb al-Itiṣām* should be consulted" indicate that he authored *Kitāb al-Itiṣām* independently and from there he incorporated into the *Şahīh* what met his criteria for the book, just as he did for *al-Adab al-Mufrad*. Noticing that this word was not what he believed to be accurate, he referred to the original, which was probably not in his possession at the time. Thus, he suggested that it be consulted and amendments be made from it."²

Stage 5: Multiple Revisions

After producing the first edition of a given book and teaching it to students, he would continuously improve, amend, omit and add to it. He would then reproduce the same book a second or third time—sometimes, even more than that. Bukhārī said, "I authored all my books three times."³ Al-Mu'allimī al-Yamānī said,

He intends [by this expression]—and Allah knows best—that he [first] authored the book and presented it to the masses. He then added to and amended his manuscript until he reproduced it a second time. He then revisited the work again, adding to and amending it, until he reproduced it a third time.

¹ *Sahih al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Itiṣām*, no. 7271.

² *Fath al-Bārī*, 13:246–247.

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¹ *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Itiṣām*, no. 7271.

² *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 13:246–247.

³ *Taghlīq at-Tālīq*, 5:318.

We can substantiate this claim in light of the various recensions of his works.

[For instance,] the *Tārīkh* is considered one of Bukhārī's earliest works, and he said, "I wrote the *Tārīkh* by the Prophet's grave during the moonlit nights."¹ He was under twenty years old at the time. So Bukhārī produced the first edition of the *Tārīkh* at an early stage of his life. That recension reached Abū Zur'ah, who noticed several oversights in the work. To explain these oversights, Ibn Abī Hātim ar-Rāzī authored his book *Bāyān Awhām al-Bukhārī fī Tārīkhīhi* (Clarifying Bukhārī's Oversights in his *Tārīkh*). Thereafter, Bukhārī produced a second edition of his book, which was transmitted by Abū Ahmad Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Fāris ad-Dallāl an-Naysābūrī (d. 312 AH). This was the recension that reached al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [d. 463 AH]. Some of the oversights in the first edition—to which the two Rāzīs objected—were corrected. Consequently, Khaṭīb objected to them, saying, "In that book, [Ibn Abī Hātim] quoted things from Bukhārī that were incorrect. These were documented accurately in [another recension of] his *Tārīkh* contrary to what was related from him." Bukhārī produced a third edition of the work—transmitted by Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn Kūrdī—that contained corrections to some of the oversights Khaṭīb mentioned in his rejoinder *Muwaddīḥ Awhām al-Jam' wa 't-Tafnīq* (Clarifying Oversights of Conflation and Distinction).²

From the foregoing, we learn that Bukhārī revised his books three times, as he expressly stated. We can prove this through the recensions of *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* and its subsequent rejoinders. We may not have multiple recensions for all of his works, but *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* is enough to shed light on Bukhārī's general methodology of authoring books.

¹ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:400.

² For more details, see Mu'allimī, "Introduction," in *Muwaddīḥ Awhām al-Jam' wa 't-Tafnīq*, 1:11–12.

Stage 6: Continuous Improvements

Bukhārī constantly improved and added material to his *Tārīkh* until a late stage in his life. He said, "I authored all my books three times." He also said, "If some of the teachers of these people were brought back to life, they would not understand how I wrote the *Tārīkh* nor would they recognize it." He then said, "I revised it three times."¹ He also said, "Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh presented my book the *Tārīkh* to 'Abdullāh ibn Tāhir. He said, 'O Amīr, shall I not show you magic?' After reading it, 'Abdullāh was impressed and said, 'I do not understand his compilation.'"² Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh passed away in 230 AH. Meanwhile, in the beginning of the third volume of *at-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, Muḥammad ibn Sahl al-Fasawī al-Muqri' mentions, "Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Ju'fī narrated to us in Basra in the year 246 AH."³ Yet the book comprises the entries of Ḥadīth scholars and transmitters who passed away after Ishāq ibn Rāhawayh. It even contains those who passed away after the recitation of [the work by] Muḥammad ibn Sahl in the year 246 AH. Bukhārī said, "Muḥammad ibn Bashshār Abū Bakr Bundār: he passed away in Rajab 252 AH. He heard from Ghundar."⁴

The Place of the *Şahīh*'s Compilation

Opinions vary on where the *Şahīh* was compiled. 'Abd al-Quddūs ibn Hammām said, "I heard many scholars say, 'Bukhārī transferred (*hawwal*) the chapter headings of his *Jāmī* between the Prophet's grave and his pulpit. He prayed two units for every chapter heading.'"⁵ Abū 'l-Fadl Muḥammad ibn Tāhir al-Maqdīsī related many opinions in this respect. He writes, "Bukhārī compiled his *Şahīh* in Bukhara," and he prefers this view. He also writes, "It is said, 'Rather, he authored

¹ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:403.

² *Tārīkh Baghda'*, 7:2.

³ *At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr*, 3:1:1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:1:49.

⁵ *Tahdhib al-Asmā' wa 'l-Lughāt*, 1:74. [Ibn Ḥajar explains this statement as Bukhārī's editing the draft in order to prepare a fair copy. See *Hudā as-Sārī*, 489. Trans.]

it in Makkah in the Sacred Mosque.” Nawawī comments on this, saying, “It is possible—rather, it is necessary—to reconcile these reports, because, as we mentioned earlier, he compiled the *Ṣahīh* over a period of 16 years. He, therefore, compiled parts in Makkah, Madīnah, Basra and Bukhara. And Allah knows best.”¹

Nawawī’s explanation is supported by what Bukhārī’s copyist mentioned regarding the compilation of *al-Jāmi’ aṣ-Ṣahīh* at a later stage. He said,

I purchased a house for 920 dirhams. Bukhārī gave me a thousand dirhams and said, “Buy your house with this money.” I accepted it from him and thanked him. We then turned our focus to writing; at the time, we were busy compiling the *Jāmi’*. We spent the next two days compiling the *Jāmi’*. On that day, we wrote a substantial amount until the *Zuhr* prayer. After the *Zuhr* prayer, we continuously wrote without breaking for food. . . and then a few days passed, and we wrote again until the *Zuhr* prayer.²

As I have mentioned repeatedly, this was not the first time he compiled the work. Rather, he had already drafted an outline of *al-Jāmi’ aṣ-Ṣahīh* between the Sacred Mosque of Makkah and the Prophetic grave (the most beautiful of salutations and peace be upon its inhabitant). Thereafter, he continuously omitted, added, rearranged and amended the work until his demise. As we will see in the following section, he was still in the process of improving it when he passed away.

The Original Exemplar (Aṣl) of Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī

In *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* it is reported that Abū Hurayrah ﷺ said, “The Prophet ﷺ said, ‘The fornicator is not a believer when fornicating.’” Firabrī said, “I found in the handwriting of Abū Ja’far that Abū

‘Abdillāh said, ‘Its explanation is: it (i.e. faith) will be seized from him.’” Ibn Ḥajar said, “Abū Ja’far is Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Bukhārī’s copyist.”¹ It may be inferred from this passage that Firabrī was in possession of the copyist’s manuscript [the exemplar of *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī*].

In addition, Bukhārī narrates,

‘Umar ibn Ḥafṣ narrated to us: my father narrated to me: A’mash narrated to us: Ibrāhīm and ad-Dāḥḥāk al-Mashriqī narrated to us, from Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī, who said, “The Prophet ﷺ asked his Companions, ‘Is any one of you incapable of reciting a third of the Qur’ān in one night?’ That was difficult for them, so they said, ‘O Messenger of Allah, who among us is able to do that?’ He said, ‘Allāh al-Wāḥid aṣ-Ṣamad [Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ] is a third of the Qur’ān.’”

Firabrī said: I heard Abū Ja’far Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū ‘Abdillāh’s copyist, say: Abū ‘Abdillāh said, “This ḥadīth is narrated from Ibrāhīm via a broken chain (*mursal*) and from ad-Dāḥḥāk al-Mashriqī via a continuous chain (*musnad*).” Ibn Ḥajar writes,

“Abū ‘Abdillāh” mentioned here is Bukhārī, the author. It seems Firabrī did not hear these words from Bukhārī directly, so he quoted them via Abū Ja’far. Abū Ja’far served as a copyist for Bukhārī; he accompanied him, knew him well, and narrated from him abundantly. Firabrī relates other useful material via Abū Ja’far from Bukhārī in the chapters of *ḥajj*, *mazālim* [injustices], *i’tiṣām*, and elsewhere.²

It follows, therefore, that Firabrī possessed a manuscript of *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* with handwritten annotations from Abū Ja’far, Bukhārī’s copyist.

The Ṣahīh was Extracted from Six-Hundred Thousand ḥadīths

Bukhārī said, “I extracted this book from a pool of six-hundred thou-

¹ Nawawī, *Talkhīṣ*, 218.

² *Siyar A’lām an-Nubalā’*, 12:450–451.

1 *Fath al-Bārī*, 5:120–119.

2 *Ibid.*, 9:60.

sand ḥadīths.”¹ This claim is not farfetched.² Bukhārī said, “I included in this book only what is authentic. Yet I excluded other authentic ḥadīths for the purposes of brevity.” Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥātim said, “I asked Abū ‘Abdillāh, ‘Do you remember everything you included in your collection?’ He said, ‘None of its contents escape me.’”

The Style of Şahīh al-Bukhārī's Original Exemplar

Abū ’l-Walīd al-Bājī said: Abū Dāwūd ‘Abd ibn Muḥammad al-Harawī related to us: Abū Ishāq al-Mustamli Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad narrated to us, saying,

I transcribed Bukhārī's book from the original exemplar that was in Firabrī's possession. I noticed that the book was incomplete. Many places were left blank: certain chapter headings were void of content while certain ḥadīths lacked chapter headings, so we merged them together.³

Abū ’l-Walīd said,

What confirms this statement is that the recensions of Abū Ishāq al-Mustamli, Abū Muḥammad as-Sarakhsī, Abū ’l-Haytham al-Kush-

¹ *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 12:402. [As the science of ḥadīth developed, a ḥadīth began to be identified by its *isnād* and not by its text (*matn*). The growth of *isnāds* was a natural outcome of the process of transmission. So assuming that one Companion imparted a ḥadīth to five students who in turn did the same, et cetera, the number of routes would have increased exponentially. Through the process of transmission, therefore, the number of *isnāds* multiplied without an increase in the number of texts. Furthermore, apart from Prophetic ḥadīths, these large numbers comprise non-Prophetic reports as well, such as the statements and verdicts of the Companions and the Successors. See Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II*, 65 ff.; Brown, *Hadīth*, 219; A'zamī, *Studies In Early ḥadīth Literature*, 302–302; Abū Ghuddah, annotations on *Mabādī’ Ilm al-Ḥadīth wa Uṣūlhu*, 55. Trans.]

² [It is difficult to determine the exact number of individual ḥadīths. Nevertheless, Ṣalīḥ Aḥmad ash-Shāmī gathered the ḥadīths of 14 major ḥadīth compilations: the six canonical books, *Muwatta’ Mālik*, *Musnad Aḥmad*, the *Sunnas* of Dārimī and Bayhaqī, the *Şahīhs* of Ibn Khuzaymah and Ibn Ḥibbān, the *Mustadrak* of Hākim, and the *Mukhtārah* of ad-Diyā’ al-Maqdisī. In total, he gathered 114,194 ḥadīths; and after removing repetitions, there remained 28,430 ḥadīths. It should be noted that he did not regard the narration of two different Companions for an identical ḥadīth as a repetition. See Shāmī, *Mādīm as-Sunnah an-Nabawiyyah*, 9. Trans.]

³ *At-Tādīl wa ’t-Tajrīḥ*, 1:310.

mīhānī and Abū Zayd al-Marwazī differ in their arrangement even though they copied from one original. That happened inasmuch as each one estimated where to place something from the margin and a scrap of paper. This will become clear to you when you find two chapter headings or more conjoined without any intervening ḥadīths.¹

Throughout *Fath al-Bārī*, Ibn Ḥajar noted scribal errors [in *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*]. Bukhārī placed the following chapter heading “Chapter: Protection from the Punishment of the Grave.” He opens the chapter with a ḥadīth from Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī: “The Prophet ﷺ went out when the sun had set. He heard a sound, so he said, ‘Jews who are being punished in the grave.’”² Ibn Ḥajar then quotes some commentators who opine that this ḥadīth is from the remainder of the previous chapter. Some scribes included it in this chapter without distinguishing between them.³ Elsewhere Ibn Ḥajar writes, “Abū ’Alī as-Ṣadafī asserts that its mention after the ḥadīth of Ibn ‘Umar is from the doings of the scribe.”⁴

In addition, Bukhārī placed the following chapter heading “Chapter: Highway Robbers are from the People of Disbelief and Apostasy.” Ibn Ḥajar writes,

His words “Chapter: Highway Robbers are from the People of Disbelief and Apostasy.” This is how the chapter heading is found here according to all [the recensions]. But its placement here is problematic. I believe it was an oversight by those who transcribed Bukhārī's book from the draft.⁵

Moreover, Ibn Ḥajar related from Bulqīnī that the manuscripts of the *Şahīh* vary in the arrangement of the chapters. He said, “The manuscripts differ regarding the sequence of the chapter on fasting

¹ Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 25–26; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 8; [al-Bājī, *at-Tādīl wa ’t-Tajrīḥ*, 1:311. Trans.].

² *Fath al-Bārī*, 3:241.

³ *Ibid.*, 3:242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:349.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12:109.

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¹ Ibn Rushayd, *Isādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 25–26; *Hudā as-Sārī*, 8; [al-Bājī, *at-Tādil wa 't-Tajrīh*, 1:311. Trans.].

² *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, 3:241.

³ *Ibid.*, 3:242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:349.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12:109.

and the chapter on hajj. Likewise, the transmission varies in terms of their hadīths.”¹

The Orientalist Mingana published several folios from a manuscript of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* with an extensive introduction despite his lack of familiarity. He delves into the differences in the arrangement of the *Şahīh*’s chapters, asking whether the chapter on fasting comes first or the chapter on hajj, as if he discovered a massive flaw in the book, not realizing that Hadīth scholars were well aware of this difference and clearly mentioned it in their works.²

Likewise, Ibn Ḥajar notes a hadīth that was omitted in all manuscripts apart from the manuscript read to Firabrī.³ Be that as it may, there is no book in history that received scholarly attention, generation after generation, era after era, like Imām Bukhārī’s book.

TRANSMITTERS OF THE *ŞAHİH*

Muhammad ibn Tāhir al-Maqdisī writes, “Many people have transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, such as Firabrī, Hammād ibn Ṣhākir, Ibrāhīm ibn Ma’qil an-Nasafī and Tāhir ibn Makhad an-Nasafī.”⁴ Al-Amīr ibn Mākūlā writes, “The last person to transmit the *Şahīh* from Bukhārī was Abū Ṭalhah Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bazdī from the people of Bazdah. He was reliable. He passed away in 329 AH.”⁵ Firabrī said, “Ninety thousand people heard the *Şahīh* from Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl though no one besides me remains who narrates it.”⁶

¹ *Hudā as-Sārī*, 470.

² [For an appraisal of Mingana’s criticisms, see Ahmad as-Sallūm’s *Risālah fi Radd Shubah Minjānā hawl Şahīh al-Bukhārī* and Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, pp. 384–386. Trans.]

³ *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:153. [Ibn Ḥajar is referring to Ṣaghānī’s manuscript of the *Şahīh*. See translator’s appendix 2 for more on this manuscript. Trans.]

⁴ *Siyar*, 12:398.

⁵ *Ikemāl*, 7:243; *Siyar*, 12:398.

⁶ *Siyar*, 12:398. [Dhahabī does not accept Firabrī’s statement quoted here. See Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 15:12. Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Awwāmah explains that his critique is unwarranted. See ‘Awwāmah, annotation on *Tadrib ar-Rāwī*, 2:365–66. Ṣalīḥ Fathī explains that the words Dhahabī used here are *wa lam yaṣīḥ* (“it is inaccurate”), which is not a

Several recensions of the *Şahīh* gained prominence:

1. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Ma’qil an-Nasafī al-Hanafī (d. 295 AH), the judge of Nasaf.

He heard [hadīths] from Qutaybah ibn Sa’id and many others. He travelled extensively in the pursuit of knowledge. Dhahabī said, “He wrote *al-Musnad al-Kabīr*, *Tafsīr* and other works, and he transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*.” Ibrāhīm ibn Ma’qil an-Nasafī al-Hanafī’s recension has reached us via the route of Khalaf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl al-Khayyām (d. 361 AH). Imām Khaṭṭābī based his commentary on *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, *Aflām al-Hadīth*, upon this recension. There are occasional omissions in his recension. Abū Ya’lā al-Khalilī said, “He is reliable (*thiqah*), a prolific memorizer (*hāfiẓ*).”¹

2. Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn al-Mahāmilī (235–330 AH).²

Bukhārī visited Baghdad many times, wherein he transmitted hadīths. The last person to transmit from him there was al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā’īl al-Mahāmilī.³ I have a photocopied manuscript of this

criticism of the chain of transmission; rather, he disagrees that Firabrī was the last to transmit the *Şahīh*. See Ṣalīḥ Fathī, “Nuskhat Şahīh al-Bukhārī al-Asliyyah wa Ashhar Riwayātih,” *Majallat at-Turāth an-Nabawī* 1:3 (2018), 77. Trans.]

¹ *Siyar*, 13:493; cf. Nasafī, *al-Qand fi ‘Ulamā’ Samārqand*, 158, and Shaykh Abū Ghudād’s annotation on *Shurūt al-Ā’imma al-Khamsah*, 161. [A handful of narrations of the *Şahīh* via the recension of Ibrāhīm ibn Ma’qil are found in secondary sources. For instance, Bayhaqī narrates, “Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Hāfiẓ related to us: Abū Ṣalīḥ related to me: Ibrāhīm ibn Ma’qil narrated to us: Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl [al-Bukhārī] narrated to us, saying: Aḥmad ibn Shabib said: my father narrated to us, from Yūnus, who said: Ibn Shihāb said, from ‘Urwah, from ‘Ā’ishah (رضي الله عنها), who said, ‘May Allah have mercy on the early emigrant women! When Allah revealed, ‘And they should let their headscarves fall to cover their necklines,’ they tore their shawls to use as headscarves.’ This is how Bukhārī narrated it.” See Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 7:142, no. 13,508; cf. Jumu’ah, *Riwayāt al-Jāmi’ as-Şahīh wa Nusakhuhu*, 145–146. Trans.]

² *Tārīkh Baghādād*, 8:19–23.

³ Ibid., 2:5. [Naṣar al-Firyābī put forward a similar claim. He bases the validity of this recension on Kirmānī’s citation of a chain via Mahāmilī in the introduction to his commentary on *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* as well as the presence of a manuscript that is supposedly transmitted through this chain. See Kirmānī, *al-Kawākib ad-Darārī*, 1:10; Firyābī’s annotations on *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:7. However, a number of experts have expressed

recension of *Şahih al-Bukhārī* from the beginning until the chapter on “sudden death.”

3. Abū Muḥammad Ḥammād ibn Shākir ibn Sawiyyah al-Warrāq an-Nasafī al-Ḥanafī (d. 311 AH).

He narrated from Tirmidhī and Bukhārī. He was one of the transmitters of *Şahih al-Bukhārī* from its author. Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Jāmī transmitted *Şahih al-Bukhārī* from him.¹

4. Khalaf ibn Shāhid ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hāshim an-Nasafī (d. 308 AH).

He transmitted *al-Jāmī* as-Şahīh from Bukhārī. The people of Samarqand heard the *Jāmī* from him. He worked for the postal service there in the year 302 AH. He passed away in Rajab 308 AH.²

5. Abū 'l-Faḍl Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Makhlad an-Nasafī.

[Najm ad-Dīn an-Nasafī (d. 537 AH) writes:]

He was a reliable student of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī. He transmitted the *Jāmī* from him. Abū Ya'lā 'Abd al-Mu'min ibn Khalaf an-Nasafī, Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil an-Nasafī and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā an-Nasafī narrated from him.

Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Yūsuf said: my grandfather, Abū

reservations on the validity of Maḥāmili's recension. Ibn Ḥajar writes that although Maḥāmili attended a few sessions of ḥadīth during Bukhārī's final visit to Baghdad, he did not transmit the *Şahih*. In fact, many people have conflated his general transmission from Bukhārī as a transmission of his *Şahih*. It appears as though Ibn Ḥajar is directing these comments to Kirmānī. See *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:7; *Jumu'ah, Riwayāt*, 210–212. Trans.]

¹ *Ikmāl*, 4:394; *Siyar*, 5:15; *Taqyīd*, 1:314; *Shurūt al-Āimmah al-Khamsah*, 161. [A handful of narrations of the *Şahih* via the recension of Ḥammād ibn Shākir are found in secondary sources. For instance, Bayhaqī narrates, “Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥāfiẓ related to us, saying: Ahmad ibn Muḥammad an-Nasawī related to me, saying: Ḥammād ibn Shākir narrated to us: Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl [al-Bukhārī] narrated to us: al-Ḥasan ibn Mudrik narrated to us, saying: Yaḥyā ibn Ḥammād narrated to me: Abū 'Awānah narrated to us, from 'Āsim al-Āḥwal, who said, 'I saw the Prophet's bowl in the possession of Anas. . .'” See Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 1:47, no. 116; cf. *Jumu'ah, Riwayāt*, 164–69. Trans.]

² *Qand*, 27.

'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil narrated to us, saying: my father, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Hudhayl, and Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Makhlad all narrated to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī narrated to us, saying: 'Abdullāh ibn az-Zubayr al-Ḥumaydī narrated to us, saying: Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah narrated to us, from Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Anṣārī, from Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm at-Taymī, who said: I heard 'Alqamah ibn Waqqās say: I heard 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb say: the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, “Actions are judged by intentions. Everyone will receive what they intended. Whoever migrated for Allah and His Messenger, their migration will be for Allah and His Messenger. Whoever migrated to acquire a worldly benefit or to marry a woman, their migration will be for the purpose they migrated.”¹

6. Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Hudhayl.

Nasafī writes, “Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil said: my father, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Hudhayl, and Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Makhlad all narrated to us, saying: Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl narrated to us [. . .].”²

7. Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabī (231–320 AH).

He heard from 'Alī ibn Khashram and others. He heard *Şahih al-Bukhārī* several times: once in the year 248 in Firabī,³ a second time in Bukhara in 252,⁴ and a third time in Firabī in the years 253, 254 and 255; the third instance was mentioned by Ghunjār in *Tārīkh Bukhārā*.⁵ He was in possession of Bukhārī's original exemplar, from which his students copied. This bolstered his rank and served as a testimony to his truthfulness.⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar writes, “His recension of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 158–159.

² *Ibid.*, 158.

³ *Taqyīd*, 1:132; *Siyar*, 11:15.

⁴ *Taqyīd*, 1:132; *Siyar*, 11:15.

⁵ *Taqyīd*, 1:132.

⁶ *Ifādat an-Şaḥīḥ*, 18.

Şahīh is the most complete.”¹ The recension of Firabrī is well known, widespread and relied upon throughout the world today. Many have transmitted from Firabrī, but his most prominent students were Abū Zayd al-Marwazī the jurist, Ibn as-Sakan, Sarakhsī and Kushmīhāni.

8. Abū Ṭalḥah Mānṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Qarīnah al-Bazdī (d. 329 AH).

Al-Amīr Ibn Mākūlā writes, “He was reliable. He was the last to transmit *al-Jāmī’ as-Şahīh* from Bukhārī.”² Al-Ja’far al-Mustaghfīrī writes, “They criticize his transmission due to his young age at the time of audition. The book was recited to him from Ḥammād ibn Shākir’s manuscript. His townsmen heard from him, and he became a destination of academic travel during his day.”³

9. Maṣīḥ ibn ‘Iṣmāḥ ash-Shīrakathī an-Nasafī.

He transmitted *al-Jāmī’ as-Şahīh* from Bukhārī. Abū ‘l-Āḥwāṣ Muḥammad ibn Maslamah ad-Dihqān transmitted the work from him.⁴

10. Maḥīb ibn Sulaym.⁵
11. Abū ‘l-Faḍl Ja’far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās at-Tūbānī.

[Sam’ānī writes:]

He was the chief (*dihqān*) of Tūbān, and the freed slave of the leader of the believers. He was known as Ja’far al-Kabīr. He settled in the city of Tūbān and left behind a progeny. He heard *al-Jāmī’ as-Şahīh* from Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl. They found the reading

1 *Taghlīq at-Taṭīq*, 5:435.

2 *Ikmāl* 7:243.

3 *Siyar*, 15:279. [There is a difference of opinion on the name of Abū Ṭalḥah’s ancestor: it is either Qarīnah or Muzaynah. Likewise, his affiliation is Bazdī, but “Bazdawī” is also used. Ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn ad-Dimashqī writes, “Bazdī: an ascription to the city of Bazdah [...] and ‘Bazdawī’ is also said. From them is the long-lived Abū Ṭalḥah Mānṣūr ibn Muḥammad [ibn ‘Alī] ibn Qarīnah—it is said: Muzaynah.” See Dimashqī, *Tāwīl al-Muṣhtabīh*, 1:450–451; Ibn Nuqṭah, *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, 4:622. Trans.]

4 *Ikmāl*, 7:246.

5 Khalīlī, *Irshād*, 959.

certificate of Abū Ṭalḥah Mānṣūr ibn ‘Alī ibn Muzabnah [sic], the chief of Bazdah, in the handwriting of Ja’far ibn Muḥammad al-Kabīr on the cover of the *Jāmī’*. Based on that, his [Abū Ṭalḥah’s] audition was deemed reliable according to some. Thus, he became a destination of academic travel and was the last to transmit the *Jāmī’* from him.¹

Transmitters from Firabrī

Ibn Rushayd mentions seven transmitters of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī.² Rushāṭī said, “Firabrī is primarily relied upon in the transmission of Bukhārī’s book.”³ Ibn Rushayd writes,

Today, the recognized route to Bukhārī in the East and the West with continuous auditions is the route of Firabrī. He was in possession of Bukhārī’s original exemplar, from which his students copied. This bolstered his rank and served as a testimony to his truthfulness.⁴

Droves of people heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī. In *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, Ibn Rushayd mentions seven people who heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī: 1) Abū Iṣhāq al-Mustamli; 2) Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥammūyī; 3) Abū ‘l-Haytham al-Kushmīhāni; 4) Abū Zayd Muḥammad ibn Ahmād ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Marwazī, the most eminent transmitter to narrate the book from Firabrī; 5) Abū Ahmād Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Makkī al-Jurjānī; 6) Abū ‘Alī Ismā’īl ibn Abī Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ahmād ibn Hājib al-Kushmīhāni; and 7) Sa’īd ibn ‘Uthmān ibn as-Sakan al-Baghdādī, the Ḥadīth expert.⁵

The editor of *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, Dr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥabīb ibn al-Khūjah, added the following names: 1) Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ash-Shabbūyah; 2) Abū Hāmid Ahmād ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Nu’aym an-Nu’aymī; 3) Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Ḥasan Firabrī; 4) Abū Naṣr

1 Sam’ānī, *Ansāb*, 3:102.

2 *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 17–18.

3 Ibid., 15.

4 Ibid., 18.

5 *Siyar*, 16:117.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Akhsikatī; 5) Firabrī's grandson, Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabrī.¹

Dr Muḥammad Ishāq Khān added the following names: 1) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ḥamm ibn Nāqib al-Bukhārī; 2) Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Matt al-Ishtīkhānī; 3) Abū Nu'mān Yahyā ibn al-Khathlānī [sic];² and 4) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī.

I have come across the following additional names: 1) Ismā'il al-Ḥājibī;³ 2) Abū Naṣr al-Kushānī;⁴ and 3) Zurārah.⁵

Therefore, the total number of documented transmitters from Firabrī is 19 ḥadīth scholars. The most eminent is Abū Zayd al-Marwazī and the most prominent is Kushmīhanī.

[Details on] the Transmitters from Firabrī

1. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī al-Mus-tamī (d. 376 AH).

He narrated the *Şahīh* from Firabrī in 314 AH. Abū Dharr 'Abd ibn Aḥmad, 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Khalid—in Andalusia, and Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās al-Balkhī have narrated from him. Abū Dharr said, "He was among the reliable and precise scholars of Balkh." He passed away in 376 AH.⁶

2. Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabrī.

He transmitted the *Şahīh* from his grandfather, as mentioned in the footnotes of *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*.⁷

1 *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 21–22.

2 [Sāliḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Fullānī (d. 1218 AH) transmits the *Şahīh* via Firabrī's student, the ascetic of Samarqand, Abū Luqmān Yahyā ibn 'Ammār ibn Muqbil ibn Shāhān al-Khatlānī, who lived for 143 years. The name Abū Nu'mān Yahyā ibn al-Khathlānī mentioned here is a typographical error. See Fullānī, *Qaf' ath-Thamar*, 40–43; Tīrḥūtī, *al-Yāni' al-Janī*, 57 ff.; *Jumu'ah, Riwāyat al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*, 316; Nadwī, *al-Farā'id fi 'Awāli al-Asānīd wa Ghawāli al-Fawā'id*, 116. Trans.]

3 *Siyar*, 16:521.

4 *Ansāb*, 6:4.

5 *Taqyid*, 1:102.

6 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:492; *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, 4:161.

7 *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 23, footnote no. 85.

3. Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Nu'aym ibn al-Khalīl an-Nu'aymī (d. 386 AH).¹

He narrated from Abū 'l-'Abbās ad-Daghūlī, al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad as-Sinjī and Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥamdayah. He transmitted Bukhārī's *Jāmi'* from Firabrī. He was in his nineties when he passed away in Herat in the year 386 AH.²

[*] Abū Aḥmad Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥfūz al-Warqūdī. He transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī.³

4. Aḥmad ibn Ḥājib ibn Muḥammad al-Kushānī (d. 392 AH) [sic].⁴

5. Zurārah.

In *Tabaqāt Ahl Shīrāz*, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qaṣṣār mentioned that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Makki al-Jurjānī entered Shiraz and narrated ḥadīth there. The masses, judges and reliable people gathered around him; they positioned him by the Maṣāḥif entrance and heard from him. He had authorization for *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* via Zurārah [sic], from Firabrī.⁵

1 Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 7:378.

2 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:488; Sam'ānī, *at-Tahbīr fi 'l-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, 2:95.

3 *Ansāb*, 5:64 [1/13:317].

4 *Ikmāl*, 7:185. [The provided reference to Ibn Mākūlā's *Ikmāl* under the entry of Kushānī does not mention Aḥmad ibn Ḥājib al-Kushānī. There is mention of his son Muḥammad and grandson Ismā'il, both of whom will be mentioned later in Dr A'zamī's list. However, in his supplementary work to *Ikmāl* entitled *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, Ibn Nuqṭah provides an entry for Aḥmad ibn Ḥājib where he mentions that Aḥmad's agnomen was Abū 'Umar, he was reliable, his son Muḥammad narrates from him, and he passed away after 330 AH. There is no mention of him transmitting the *Şahīh* from Firabrī. See Ibn Nuqṭah, *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, 3:326; cf. annotations on *Ikmāl*, 4:564. Trans.]

5 Ibn Nuqṭah, *Taqyid*, 1:102–103. [In the mentioned reference, Ibn Nuqṭah states that Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Jurjānī had authorization for *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* "via Zurārah, from Firabrī." No biographical information was provided for Zurārah. In his edition of *Taqyid* (1:110 and 2:58), the editor Sharīf at-Tashādī notes a manuscript variant that contains the last passage as "he transmitted it via Firabrī (*rawāhu 'an al-Firabrī*)" without any mention of Zurārah. Earlier, A'zamī cited Ibn Rushayd saying that Abū Aḥmad al-Jurjānī was a direct student of Firabrī. Therefore, the name Zurārah is a scribal error. Also see Sallūm, "Introduction," in *Mukhtasar an-Naṣīḥ*, 69. Trans.]

6. Abū 'Alī Sa'īd ibn 'Uthman ibn as-Sakan al-Bazzār al-Baghdādī al-Miṣrī (294–353 AH).

He heard ḥadīths in Baghdad, Harran, Damascus and Nishapur. He heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabī in Khurasan.¹ Towards the latter part of his life, after extensive travels, he settled down in Egypt. Earnings from business supported his extensive travels. He was the first to bring and transmit the *Şahīh* in Egypt. He authored many books, but they are found among the North Africans. Among his works is *Şahīh Ibn as-Sakan*.²

7. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammūyah as-Sarakhsī (293–381 AH).

He heard *al-Musnad al-Kabīr* and the *Tafsīr* of 'Abd ibn Ḥumayd ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Khuzaym ash-Shāshī, *Musnad ad-Dārimī* from 'Isā ibn 'Umar as-Samarqandī, and Bukhārī's *al-Jāmī* as-Şahīh from Firabī in the year 316 AH.³ He authored a book on the number of ḥadīths in *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*. Abū Dharr al-Harawī and others narrated from him. Abū Dharr said, "I recited to him; he is reliable."⁴

8. Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī (d. 366 AH).⁵

He heard from 'Umar ibn Bujayr and others, and al-Ḥākim and others narrated from him. He transmitted *al-Jāmī* as-Şahīh from Firabī.

9. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥājib al-Kushānī ad-Dihqān.

10. Abū 'Alī Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad ibn [Aḥmad ibn] Ḥājib al-Kushānī.

[Sam'ānī writes:] He heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* alongside his father from Firabī in Firabī in the year 316 AH.⁶ [Dhahabī writes:] He transmitted

1 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:117.

2 *Kattānī*, *ar-Risālah al-Mustaṭrafah*, 23.

3 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 4:292–293.

4 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:292–293.

5 *Sahmī*, *Tārīkh Jurjān*, 276–277; *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:247.

6 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 4:6.

Şahīh al-Bukhārī from Firabī. He heard it in the year 320 AH. He was the last to narrate *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* with an elevated chain. Abū Sahl al-Abīwardī, Shujā'i, 'Umar ibn Aḥmad as-Samarqandī and others have narrated from him. Dhahabī said, "He was senior and lived a long life." Al-Mu'taman as-Sājī said, "He passed away in the year 392 AH."¹

11. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Matt as-Samarqandī al-Ishtikhanī (d. 388 AH).²

He heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabī in the year 319 AH. Abū Naṣr ad-Dāwūdī said,

I visited Ibn Matt in Ishtikhan. He asked me, "Have you heard Bukhārī's *Jāmī*?" I said: "yes." He asked, "From whom?" I said, "From Ismā'il al-Hajibī." He said, "Hear it from me, because I was an adult when I heard it and he was being carried around on people's shoulders."

12. Abū Zayd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Marwazī.³

He was a leading Shāfi'i jurist who travelled extensively. He heard [ḥadīths] from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Mundhīrī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh as-Sādī and others. He heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabī in the year 318 AH.⁴ He transmitted the *Şahīh* in Basra and Shiraz;⁵ he sojourned in Makkah and transmitted the *Şahīh* there. Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī said, "He was the most eminent of its transmitters."⁶

13. Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Hamm ibn Nāqib al-Bukhārī as-Şafār (d. 381 AH).⁷

1 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:481. [Ibn Nuqtāh concurs with Dhahabī that Ismā'il al-Kushānī heard the *Şahīh* from Firabī in the year the latter passed away, 320 AH. See Ibn Nuqtāh, *Taqyid*, 1:407. For an example of a ḥadīth found exclusively in Ismā'il al-Kushānī's recension via Firabī, see Mizzī, *Tuhfat al-Ashraf*, 5:222–223. Trans.]

2 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:521; Subkī, *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*, 3:99.

3 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:313–315.

4 *Ibid.*, 16:315.

5 Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 3:239.

6 *Tārīkh Baghdađ*, 1:314; *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 22.

7 *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 16:424–425; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 7:422.

He heard [hadīths] from al-Ḥusayn ibn Isma‘il al-Fārisī and Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd. He narrated *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī.

14. Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn al-Ḥasan al-Firabrī.

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī said, “Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn al-Ḥasan al-Firabrī narrated *al-Jāmi‘ as-Şahīh* from Firabrī except for some hadīths towards the end [sic].”¹

15. Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Shabbūyah al-Marwāzī (d. 296 AH).²

He was a senior Ṣufī mentor. He heard the *Şahīh* from Firabrī in 316 AH, and he transmitted it in Merv in 378 AH.

16. Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Makkī al-Jurjānī (d. 374 AH).³

He travelled to the Levant and Egypt. He narrated from Baghawī, Ibn Ṣa‘īd and others. He transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Firabrī in Basra and Sutrān.

17. Abū ’l-Haytham Muḥammad ibn al-Makkī ibn [Muḥammad ibn al-Makkī ibn] Zurā‘ al-Marwāzī al-Kushmīhanī (d. 389 AH).⁴

¹ *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 23, footnote no. 85. [In his commentary on *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, Khaṭṭābī writes that he narrates most of the *Şahīh* from the recension of Ibrāhīm ibn Ma‘qil “except some hadīths in the ending that were transmitted from Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabrī. Muḥammad ibn Khālid ibn al-Ḥasan narrated them to me, saying: Firabrī narrated them to us.” See Khaṭṭābī, *Aḥlām al-Hadīth*, 1:106. Trans.]

² *Siyar Aḥlām an-Nubalā’*, 16:423; *Ikmāl*, 5:107–108; *Ansāb*, 7:285.

³ *Tārīkh Jurjān*, p. 427. [The editor of *Tārīkh Jurjān* writes that he was unable to locate a place called Sutrān and proposes Shiraz and Siraf. Jumu‘ah Fathī quotes the same passage from *Tārīkh Jurjān* but replaces the word Sutrān with Shiraz. See Jumu‘ah, *Riwāyāt*, 302. As we saw earlier, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qaṣṣār mentioned in *Tabaqāt Ahl Shirāz* that Abū Aḥmad al-Jurjānī travelled to Shiraz and transmitted the *Şahīh* there. Therefore, the correct word is most likely Shiraz, not Sutrān. See Ibn Nuqṭah, *Taqyīd*, 1:102–103. Trans.]

⁴ *Siyar Aḥlām an-Nubalā’*, 16:491–492. [Ibn Rushayd writes that his ancestor’s name is vowelized as Zurā‘: a *dammah* on the *zāy* and one *rā’*. An alternative vowelization with a *shaddah* on the *rā’* is provided in the marginal notes of the manuscript. See *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 36; Ibn Nuqṭah, *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, 2:649. Trans.]

He narrated from ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dāghūnī and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Aṣim. He transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* multiple times from Firabrī. Abū Dharr al-Harawī, Kari-mah al-Marwāzīyah, Abū Sahl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Hafṣī and others have narrated from him. Dhahabī said, “He was truthful (*ṣadūq*).”

Transmitters from *Kushmīhanī*

1. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥākim al-Muzakkī (d. 444 AH).

He heard hadīth in Khurasan and Makkah. He narrated from Zāhir as-Sarakhsī and Haddādī.¹

2. Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khabbāzī (d. 449 AH).

He travelled to Abū ’l-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī to hear *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*; he heard it from him, and it was recited to him. Yamīn ad-Dawlah Abū ’l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn summoned him to Ghaznah. He heard his recitation intently, hosted him and sent him to Nishapur. In his day, reliance was upon his audition and manuscript.²

3. Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Sakhtawayh al-Isfarāyīnī.

He resided in Makkah and passed away there. He transmitted *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Abū ’l-Haytham in Makkah.³

4. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd ar-Rahīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Atharī al-Khu-būshānī (d. c. 430 AH).

He narrated from Zāhir, Haddādī and Abū Nu‘aym. He was a reliable transmitter from the experts of Hadīth.⁴

¹ *Al-Muntakhab min as-Siyāq*, 39.

² *Ibid.*, 43.

³ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

5. Abū Sahl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Ubaydillāh al-Ḥafṣī al-Marwazī (d. after 465 AH)

A shaykh of good repute. “He was from the laity, but he was of reliable audition.” His audition of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Kushmīhanī became known in Merv. The author of *Muntakhab* opines that Ḥafṣī was the last person to transmit the *Şahīh* from Kushmīhanī. Thus, the scholars of Merv heard from him. That audition earned him such honour and acceptance that he was escorted to Nishapur where Nizām al-Mulk hosted him. The *Şahīh* was recited to him in the Nizāmiyyah in a gathering also attended by the children of the judges, imams and authorities.¹

6. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Bajalī an-Naysābūrī as-Ṣūfī (362–449 AH).

He was the leading Ḥadīth expert of his day. Scholars recited to, and heard from, him in Nishapur, Isfahan, Tabaristan, the cities of Khurasan and Transoxiana.²

7. Abū ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ad-Darīr (361–after 440 AH).

He travelled extensively in the pursuit of knowledge. He authored well-known works in the disciplines of the Qur‘ān, Qur‘ānic recitation and Ḥadīth.³ Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb recited *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* to him in three sittings.⁴

8. Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hamadhānī.

¹ Ibid., 60. [Dhahabī writes that Ḥafṣī passed away in 465 AH, whereas Sam‘ānī writes, “I believe he passed away in 466 AH.” See *Siyar*, 18:245; *Ansāb*, 2:239; *Jumu‘ah, Riwayāt*, 292. *Al-Muntakhab min as-Siyāq* is Abū Ishāq as-Şarīfinī’s (d. 641 AH) abridgement of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī’s (d. 529 AH) *Tārīkh Naysābūr*. That Ḥafṣī was the last to transmit *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Kushmīhanī should, therefore, be ascribed to the author of *Tārīkh Naysābūr*, not the author of *Muntakhab*. Trans.]

² *Al-Muntakhab min as-Siyāq*, 93–94.

³ Ibid., 129–130.

⁴ Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, 4:327.

He travelled to Nishapur to study Ḥadīth, then to Sarakhs where he wrote, and then to Kushmīhanī where he heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Abū ‘l-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī.¹

9. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Sa‘īd as-Sakhtawī al-Isfarāyīnī.

His father resided in Makkah.²

10. Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Baḥīrī al-Mulqābādhī [d. 451 AH].

A senior, reliable shaykh from a household of spirituality and uprightness. He was “from the prominent members of the Prophet’s progeny and one of the Ṣūfīs.” He heard the *Şahīh* from Kushmīhanī in Merv.³

11. Abū ‘l-Khayr [Muḥammad] ibn Abī ‘Imrān [d. 471 AH].

He was the last person to transmit *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Kushmīhanī from Firabrī.⁴

12. Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-‘Alā’ ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarāyīnī.⁵

13. Umm al-Kirām Karīmah bint Aḥmad al-Marwazīyyah (d. 463 AH).

She resided in Makkah.⁶

¹ *Al-Muntakhab min as-Siyāq*, 199–200.

² Ibid., 212.

³ Ibid., 232–233.

⁴ *At-Taḥbīrī fī l-Muṭjam al-Kabīr*, 2:151 [cf. Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, 11:117; *Siyar*, 18:383. Earlier, we saw that ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Fārisī opines that Ḥafṣī was the last to transmit the *Şahīh* from Kushmīhanī. The difference may stem from the varying opinions on whether Abū ‘l-Khayr’s audition from Kushmīhanī was established. Sam‘ānī believed that the allegations that Abū ‘l-Khayr never heard from him were unfounded. That explains why Sam‘ānī maintained that Abū ‘l-Khayr was the last surviving student to transmit the *Şahīh* from Kushmīhanī. See *Siyar*, *op cit.*; Ibn Ḥajar *Lisān al-Mizān*, 7:540. Trans.]

⁵ *Al-Muntakhab min as-Siyāq*, 401.

⁶ Ibid., 427.

14. Abū Dharr 'Abd ibn Aḥmad al-Harawī [d. 434 AH].¹
15. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Mustaghfirī [d. 430 AH].²

Chapter 2

THE ROLE OF ISNĀD IN ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

History shows that Islamic civilization is unrivaled when it comes to its attention to the transmitters of its history, books and narratives of its prophets and their exhaustive efforts in this regard. Indeed, their attention to the chains of transmission and narrators was not limited to the religious disciplines; but it also included belles-lettres, historical reports and other fields, whereby their attention to Prophetic ḥadīths was far deeper [than other people's methods] and possessed greater nuance. The Qur'ān and the Prophetic Sunna are to remain till the Day of Judgement, and so towards that end the Muslims have instituted an unprecedented system of education—unparalleled today and in the past. The foundations of this system were put in place during the Prophetic era, and rest on two fundamental principles.

The *first principle* is the transmission of knowledge via the chain of transmission (*isnād*), which entails ascribing a statement to its source or its transmitter. In his *Šaḥīh*, Imām Bukhārī mentions:

CHAPTER: THE STATEMENT OF A ḤADĪTH SCHOLAR: HE NARRATED TO US OR HE RELATED US. . .

- Abū 'l-Āliyah narrated on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās [رضي الله عنهما], from the Prophet ﷺ, from what he narrates from his Lord ﷺ.
- Anas [رضي الله عنهما] narrated on the authority of the Prophet ﷺ, who narrates from his Lord ﷺ.

¹ *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 37.

² *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 17:564.

- Abū Hurayrah [رضي الله عنه] narrated on the authority of the Prophet ﷺ, who narrates from your Lord ﷺ.¹

Abū 'Alī al-Jayyānī said, "Allah (Exalted is He) distinguished this civilization with three unprecedented traits: *isnād*, knowledge of genealogy and desidential inflection (*i'rāb*)."

Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī said,

Had it not been for *isnād* and scholarly insistence upon it, the light-house of Islam would have collapsed and the heretics and innovators would have fabricated ḥadīths and altered the chains of transmission. Undoubtedly, reports are fragmented when they are devoid of chains of transmission.

Abū 'l-Abbās Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb narrated to us, saying: al-Abbās ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūrī narrated to us, saying: Abū Bakr ibn Abī 'l-Aswad narrated to us, saying: Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq at-Tālqānī narrated to us, saying: Baqiyah narrated to us, saying: 'Utbah ibn Abī Hakīm narrated to us that he was with Ishāq ibn Abī Farwah in the presence of Zuhrī. Ibn Abī Farwah began saying, "The Prophet ﷺ said." Zuhrī told him, "May Allah destroy you, Ibn Abī Farwah! How bold are you against Allah! Can you not mention the *isnād* for your ḥadīth? You are narrating to us ḥadīths that have no reins or bridles."²

This is how ḥadīth scholars from the first generation perceived the vital status of *isnād* in the discipline of ḥadīth, for it serves as its most important pillar and foundation vis-à-vis discussions of probity and retention. Likewise, they understood that content criticism cannot be applied accurately without an analysis of the *isnād*.³ No statement can be authentic until its chain of transmission is established.

¹ *Al-Jāmi' as-Šāfiḥi*, 1:22.

² *Mārifat 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 6. The exchange between Zuhrī and Ibn Abī Farwah can be found in [Sam'ānī's] *Adab al-Imlā' wa 'l-Istimlā'*, 5. These reports can be found *Tadrīb ar-Rāwī*, 2:605. [On the origins of Abū 'Alī al-Jayyānī's remarks, see Shaykh 'Awwāmī's annotations to *Tadrīb ar-Rāwī*, 4:581. Trans.]

³ [When a person says a ḥadīth has problematic content, he either believes the Prophet ﷺ himself made a problematic statement or alternatively he believes someone in the chain leading to the ḥadīth made an error in transmission. When ḥadīth scholars

Ibn Ḥazm said,

The transmission of reliable narrators, successively reaching back to the Prophet ﷺ, has been used by Allah to distinguish the Muslims from other sects. Interrupted and problematic chains are found among the Jews, but they do not reach [the time of] Mūsā [رضي الله عنه] like we reach [the time of] Muḥammad ﷺ. They stop short of Mūsā's lifetime with a gap of over thirty generations. In fact, it is not possible for them to reach a Prophet's disciple or his follower.¹

Many statements have been related from the predecessors (*salaf*) emphasizing the importance of *isnād*. Ibn al-Mubārak said, "*Isnād* is part of the religion. Were it not for *isnād*, anyone could say whatever they wanted."² Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah said, "Zuhrī narrated a ḥadīth one day, so I said, 'Present it without an *isnād*.' Zuhrī said, 'Do you climb to the roof without the stairs?'" Thawrī said, "*Isnād* is the weapon of the believer."³ Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal said, "Seeking elevated chains is the practice of the predecessors. The students of 'Abdullāh [ibn Ma'sūd] would travel from Kufa to Madinah to learn and hear from 'Umar." Muḥammad ibn Aslam at-Tūsī said, "Shortness of the *isnād* is closeness to Allah ﷺ." Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn said, "This knowledge is religion; so be wary of whom you take your religion from." He [Ibn Sīrīn] also said,

They did not ask for *isnād* [in earlier times], but when the strife (*fitnah*)

found the content of a ḥadīth problematic, they would identify a flaw in the chain, as it was inconceivable that the Prophet could utter something problematic. Ibn as-Ṣalāḥ has explained this idea in clear terms: "When the text of a ḥadīth (*matn*) is inauthentic, it is impossible for it to have an authentic chain." See Ibn as-Ṣalāḥ, *Fatāwā Ibn as-Ṣalāḥ*, 45. With this in mind, one can understand why ḥadīth scholars primarily focused on *isnād*-based criticism, and how the content of a ḥadīth impacted their evaluation of its chain of transmission. On the primacy of *isnād* criticism, see Idlibī, *Manhaj Naqd al-Matn*, 190; Ḥasanī, *Mārifat Madār al-Isnād*, 1:534. Trans.]

¹ [Ibn Ḥazm's remarks have been paraphrased here by Suyūṭī in *Tadrīb ar-Rāwī*. For the full version, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Fīqal*, 2:67–70. Trans.]

² Introduction to *Šaḥīḥ Muslim*, 1:12; *Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*, 41, no. 78; *Ilmā'*, 194.

³ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī cites it with a chain of transmission in *Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*, 42, no. 81.

occurred, they said, "Name your sources for us: those who belong to the Ahl as-Sunnah, their ḥadīths will be accepted; and those who are innovators, their ḥadīths will be rejected."¹

The *second principle* was the preservation of books. It was unacceptable for a scholar, however knowledgeable he may have been, to acquire a book and teach it without first acquiring a manuscript that corresponded to the original exemplar. In this regard, Imām Mālik maintained a set of prerequisites for the validity of authorization:

The secondary copy [of the book used for authorization] should be cross-referenced with the exemplar until they are identical. In addition, the authorizer should be adept in what he is authorizing, reliable in his faith and transmission, and recognized for knowledge. Moreover, the one seeking authorization should be from the people of knowledge and characterized by it, so that knowledge is entrusted to the worthy.²

AUTHOR'S PERSONAL CHAIN OF TRANSMISSION

Every book, therefore, has a pedigree. For instance, the pedigree for this manuscript of *al-Jāmī' as-Şahīh* as it relates to me is as follows:

I narrate the *Şahīh* on the authority of many teachers. The most prom-

¹ [There is considerable debate on the interpretation of *fitnah* in the words of Ibn Sirīn. Some scholars opine that it refers to the assassination of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. See Qurṭubī, *Muḥīm*, 1:123; Abū Ghuddah, *Lamāhāt*, 73. Based on a statement of Ibrāhīm an-Nakha'i that people only began asking for *isnād* during the era al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafī (d. 67 AH), some argue for a later date. See Ahmād, *al-'Ilal wa Mārifat ar-Rijāl*, 3:380; 'Awwāmah, annotations on *Tadrib ar-Rāwī*, 3:160. With variations on the specific date, many contemporary scholars agree that the fabrication of ḥadīths began around the year 40 AH. Muṣīr al-Khaṭīb explains that fabrication began during the period of the Successors when the first wave of internal conflicts and innovations surfaced. Therefore, it is preferable to leave the date unspecified so as to include the various opinions. See Ḥasanī, *Mārifat Madār al-Isnād*, 1:385. Trans.]

² Qādī 'Iyād, *Ilmā',* 95. Qādī 'Iyād maintains that the first two conditions [i.e. cross-referencing the manuscript and reliability of the authorizer] are necessary vis-à-vis audition, presentation and authorization. However, the third condition [i.e. status of the student] is disputed.

inent among them, I believe, is our teacher Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. We completed *al-Jāmī' as-Şahīh* through audition (*samā'*) and presentation (*ārd*) over one academic year in 1371 AH/1951–1952 CE.

He narrates from *Shaykh al-Islām* Maulana Mahmūd al-Hasan ad-Deobandi—who was held captive in Malta by the British—from Shaykh 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Pānipatī, from Shāh Muḥamād Ishāq ad-Dihlawī, from Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz ad-Dihlawī, from Shāh Wali Allah ad-Dihlawī, [who said]: Shaykh Abū Tāhir Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Madanī related to us, saying: my father Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Madanī informed us, saying: I read to Shaykh Ahmād al-Qushāshī, who said: Ahmād ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs Abū 'l-Mawāhib ash-Shinnāwī related to us, saying: Shaykh Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ahmād ibn Muḥammad ar-Ramlī informed us, on the authority of Shaykh Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad Abū Yahyā al-Anṣārī, who said: I recited to Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'l-Fadl Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmād ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, from Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmād at-Tanūkhī, from Abū 'l-'Abbās Ahmād ibn Abī Tālib al-Hajjār, from al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak az-Zabīdī, from Shaykh Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal ibn 'Isā ibn Shu'ayb as-Sijzī al-Harawī, from Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muẓaffar ad-Dāwūdī, from Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Ahmād as-Sarakhsī, from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Bishr al-Firābī, from Imām Bukhārī.

In addition, many friends and family narrate from us—and from others—via continuous chains of transmission until the scholars of ḥadīth. I would like to mention in particular the eminent scholar Nizām al-Yaqūbī, who narrates the *Şahīh* on the authority of:

(a) His long-lived teacher, the great transmitter, 'Abd al-Qayyūm ibn Zaynillāh al-Bastawī ar-Rahmānī—partly through recitation and the remainder through transference (*munāwalah*) coupled with authorization—who narrates it from his teacher Ahmādullāh al-Partāqgarhī ad-Dihlawī, from the polymath, the great transmitter of India, Nadhīr Ḥusayn ad-Dihlawī, *hā* (transition)—

(b) He [Ya'qūbī] also narrates it through a complete audition from

his teacher, the great transmitter, the jurist, the wise, Muḥammad Isrā’īl ibn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm an-Nadwī, who said: (i) ‘Abd al-Jabbār ash-Shakrāwī informed us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mutnānī and Ahmādullāh al-Partāpgarhī ad-Dihlawī, *hā* (transition)—And I [Nadwī] recited, with an elevated chain, portions from the beginning and the end to (ii) ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Jaywārī, who authorized me. All three [‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Ahmādullāh and ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm] said: Nadhīr Ḥusayn related to us, saying:

Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq ad-Dihlawī related to us, saying: Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Walī-Allāh ad-Dihlawī related to us: my father related to us through audition until the chapter of *hajj* and the remainder was completed under his successors: Abū Ṭāhir al-Kūrānī related to us: Ḥasan al-‘Ujaymī related to us: ‘Isā ath-Thālibī al-Ja’farī related to us: Sultān al-Mazzāhī related to us: Ahmād ibn Khalīl as-Subkī related to us: an-Najm Muḥammad al-Ghayṭī related to us:

(a) Qādī Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī related to us: Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣadaqah al-Ḥanbālī related to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Razīn al-Ḥamawī, *hā* (transition)—

(b) Qādī Zakariyyā said: Ahmād ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī related to us through audition for a substantial portion and through authorization: Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmād at-Tanūkhī al-Ba’lī informed us.

He [Ibrāhīm at-Tanūkhī] and Ibn Razīn [al-Ḥamawī] said: Ahmād ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār—Ibn Razīn added: and Sitt al-Wuzarā’ Wazīrah bint ‘Umar at-Tanūkhīyyah—both related to us, saying: al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak az-Zabīdī related to us: Abū ‘l-Waqt ‘Abd al-Awwāl ibn ‘Isā as-Sijzī al-Harawī related to us: ‘Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ad-Dāwūdī al-Būshanjī related to us: ‘Abdullāh ibn Ahmād ibn Ḥammūyah as-Sarakhsī related to us: Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firābī related to us: Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl al-Bukhārī related to us twice.

[I would also like to mention] Shaykh Nazār al-Firyābī, who has an extensive Ḥadīth curriculum vitae (*thabat*), and our dear Ramadān Ahmād ‘Alī ‘Awf al-Miṣrī, who narrates from his teacher Muṣṭafā

Abū Sulaymān an-Nadwī ash-Shāfi’ī al-Ḥusaynī—his name is ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn as-Sayyid al-Badawī Ahmād ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī.

In 2003, I founded a centre for Ḥadīth in Turkey with 30 male and female students, the majority of whom held PhDs. Today—[namely] 2011, so that is within eight years—that number exceeds 1,000 male and female students, the majority of whom hold degrees of higher studies, who transmit [Ḥadīth] books according to the methods laid out by the Ḥadīth scholars. All praise is for Allah, and it is all with His favour!

Chapter 3

THE YŪNINIYYAH: THE MOST PROMINENT MANUSCRIPT OF ȘAHÎH AL-BUKHÂRÎ

The *Yūniniyyah* manuscript of *Şahîh al-Bukhârî* has gained universal acclaim for features that would capture the interest of any serious seeker of sacred knowledge. It is ascribed to the scholar who edited it in light of multiple recensions of *Şahîh al-Bukhârî*: Sharaf ad-Dîn 'Ali ibn Muhammâd ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillâh ibn 'Isâ Abû 'l-Ḥusayn al-Yūnînî al-Ba'labakkî al-Ḥanbâlî. He was a scholarly authority, a Hadîth expert, a jurist, a mufti, unparalleled, an ascetic, a remnant of the predecessors, and the leader among his peers. He was born on 11 Rajab 621 AH in Yūnîn, a city in Baalbek.¹ He was martyred in 701 AH.²

ḤÂFIẓ YŪNÎNÎ'S CURRICULUM VITAE

Acquisition of Knowledge: In his hometown Baalbek, he attended sessions on a number of treatises with al-Bahâ' 'Abd ar-Râhmân ibn Ibrâhîm ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisî. He also studied with 'Abd al-Wâhid ibn Abî al-Madâ' al-Irbili, Ibn Rawâhah, his father and others.

He frequented Damascus where he heard from Ibn az-Zabîdî,

¹ [Although the town is famously known as Yūnîn, it also takes the name Yûnân. See Zabidi, *Tâj al-'Arûs*, 36:14. Trans.]

² [On Friday 5 Ramaḍân 701 AH, after entering a local library, Yūnînî was physically assaulted by a deranged assailant. This attack eventually led to his demise several days later at the age of 80. See Dhahabi, *Mujam ash-Shuyûkh al-Kabîr*, 2:40; Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl Tabaqât al-Ḥanâbilah*, 4:332. Trans.]

[Ibn] al-Lattī, Ibn aş-Şalāh, Ja'far al-Hamadānī, Mukram ibn Abi 's-Şaqar, Ibn ash-Shirāzī and others. After the age of 40, he travelled to Egypt in the pursuit of further knowledge and Ḥadīth. There he heard from Ibn al-Jummayzī 'Alī ibn Hibatillāh al-Lakhmī, Ibn Rawāj 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Zāfir ibn 'Alī, as-Sāwī Yūsuf ibn Maḥmūd and others. He travelled to Egypt five times. He stayed in the company of Zaki ad-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Qawi al-Mundhīrī, completing his training under him.

He heard Abū 'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī's *Maṇāqib al-Imām Ahmad* from al-Bahā' 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdīsī, who heard it from the author. He heard *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* from Abū 'Abdillāh al-Husayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn az-Zabidī al-Baghdādī; and he was the most outstanding transmitter of the book from the latter. He heard *Musnad 'Abd ibn Humayd* from Abū 'l-Munajjā 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar ibn al-Lattī.¹

Teachers: Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī 'l-Faḍl al-Ba'labakki, the son-in-law of Sharaf ad-Dīn [al-Yūnīnī], wrote a *mashyakhah* (catalogue of teachers) for him in thirteen parts. Only the 8th to 10th parts have reached us, which mention 26 teachers.² Likewise, Yūnīnī's son has a *mashyakhah* that was prepared by Muḥammad ibn Yahyā al-Maqdīsī al-Hanbālī (d. 759 AH), in which he dedicated the fifteenth entry to his father [Yūnīnī].³

Scholarly Praise

His brother, al-Quṭb Mūsā (d. 711 AH), said, "He was an eminent scholar, well-versed in Ḥadīth, lexicography and syntax. He had handsome features and a neat appearance, particularly when conducting Ḥadīth auditions. He was 80 years old."⁴

Birzālī (d. 739 AH) said,

¹ *Dhayl at-Taqyid li-Ma'rifat Ruwāt as-Sunan wa 'l-Masānīd*, 3:172.

² Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl al-Ba'labakki, *Mashyakhah Sharaf ad-Dīn*, ed. Dr. 'Umar 'Abd as-Salām Tadmurī.

³ *Mashyakhah al-Imām Muhyī ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn 'Alī al-Yūnīnī al-Ba'labakki*, 87.

⁴ *Dhayl Mir'āt az-Zamān*, 1:665.

He was an eminent scholar, handsome, graceful, striking in appearance, and poised. He was a man of great virtue. He memorized many ḥadīths and understood their meanings, was well-versed in language, articulate and well-spoken. People admired him, and he, in return, showed them great affection. He fulfilled the rights of people and held them in high esteem. He was very generous to those visiting his hometown."¹

Dhahabī made a number of statements about him: "He was a venerable scholar with a radiant countenance. He was good company, resourceful and qualified in many fields. He was joyful and disarmingly humble."² "He possessed many noble traits, and he was illuminated in appearance and awe-inspiring."³ "He was religious, knowledgeable, joyful, compassionate, a possessor of many noble traits and unparalleled."⁴ "He was well-versed with the rules of transmission, possessed sharp comprehension, together with being learned in nomenclature and narrators."⁵ "He was an authority, a Ḥadīth expert, immaculate, a jurist, a mufti, well-versed in language and obscure words, highly resourceful, methodical, revered by kings and leaders, awe-inspiring, humble, joyful, and good company, giving everyone their due rights."⁶

Şafadī (d. 764 AH) said, "He was good company, generous, pious, awe-inspiring and had handsome features."⁷

Hāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr (d. 774 AH) said, "He was devout, committed and composed."⁸

At-Taqī al-Fāsī (d. 832 AH), "He was well-versed in Ḥadīth, known

¹ *Al-Muqaffā' alā Kitāb ar-Rawdatayn*, 3:183-184.

² *Mu'jam ash-Shuyūkh*, 2:40.

³ *Al-Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ*, 168.

⁴ *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām*, 18.

⁵ *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, 4:1500.

⁶ Ibn Rajab, *Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Hanābilah*, 4:332. Ibn Rajab frequently quotes *Siyar Alām an-Nubalā'*.

⁷ *Al-Wāfi bi 'l-Wafayāt*, 21:421. These are the words of Dhahabī.

⁸ *Al-Bidāyah wa 'n-Nihāyah*, 18:13.

for his memory; he was acquainted with jurisprudence and other fields. People admired him.”¹

Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852 AH) said, “He was well-versed in lexicography, memorized many texts, well-versed in the chains of transmission, the leading scholar of his town, and a destination for academic travel.”²

Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) said, “He was well-versed in the rules of transmission, deeply perceptive, learned in the texts and narrators [of ḥadīths], and dedicated to ḥadīth and its harmonization (*dabī*).”³

Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥasan ad-Dimashqī (d. 779 AH) said, “He was noble, eminent, handsome, striking in appearance, articulate, affectionate and admired by people.”⁴

His Scholarly Attention to al-Jāmi‘ as-Ṣahīh

Ḥāfiẓ Yūnīnī afforded great scholarly care to *al-Jāmi‘ as-Ṣahīh*. He was deeply immersed in it, assiduous in vowelizing and amending it, and meticulous in cross-referencing it with reliable manuscripts that were transmitted by experts. Ḥāfiẓ Dhahabī said,

He informed me that he cross-referenced the *Ṣahīh* in one year and dictated it eleven times, reciting it himself. He frequently reproduced it in his own writing. In addition, he developed deep juristic insight, issued verdicts, taught, and achieved expertise in a number of disciplines.

He also said, “He had someone transcribe the *Ṣahīh*. He then refined it with several manuscripts, cross-referenced it many times, and then recited to Ibn Mālik [. . .] the book and its words. Thus, his teacher Ibn Mālik heard it from him.”⁵

At-Taqī al-Fāsī (d. 832 AH) said, “He heard *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* from Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn az-Zabīdī al-Baghdādī;

1 *Dhayl at-Taqīd li-Mārifat Ruwāt as-Sunan wa ‘l-Masānīd*, 3:172.

2 *Ad-Durar al-Kāminah*, 3:98.

3 *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz*, 520.

4 *Tadhkīrat at-Tanbīh fi Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa Banih*, 1:242.

5 *Dhayl Tārikh al-Islām*, 18, no. 6.

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Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852 AH) said, “He read *Bukhārī* to Ibn Mālik in order to make amendments, while Ibn Mālik heard it from him for transmission and shared linguistic points with him.”

The great historian Nuwayrī (d. 733 AH) said,

He afforded scholarly care to *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* with all its routes. He thoroughly refined his manuscript, assigning a symbol for each route, and wrote accurate annotations on the work. I transcribed *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* from his manuscript seven times. I refined it like he refined it, and I cross-referenced it with his exemplar. That was the manuscript I used for my audition with Ḥajjār and Wazīrah.¹

THE YŪNĪNYYAH MANUSCRIPT

Ḥāfiẓ Yūnīnī’s dedication to harmonizing the recensions of *al-Jāmi‘ as-Ṣahīh*, by cross-referencing and refining them,² was accomplished through reliance upon four important manuscripts:

1. A manuscript read to Abū Dharr al-Harawī via the route of Abū

1 *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 32:17.

2 [In the introduction to his manuscript, Yūnīnī explains that the mother-text for the cross-analysis was copied by Ibn Zayd (d. 702 AH) from the manuscript used for the authorization he received from his teacher Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn az-Zabīdī in the citadel of Damascus in the year 630 AH. Abū Hāshim al-‘Utaybī argues that the mother-text was copied from ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Maqdīsī’s manuscript, which in turn was copied from Abū ‘l-Waqt’s manuscript and contained variants from other recensions. Based on the attendance signatures on Maqdīsī’s manuscript, ‘Utaybī continues, it is clear that this was the manuscript Zabīdī utilized in 630 AH when teaching Yūnīnī. Hence, Zabīdī’s authorization of *Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī* described in Yūnīnī’s introduction was based on Maqdīsī’s manuscript; therefore, it was the source of the mother-text. See ‘Utaybī, *Kitāb Jābr*, 68, 122, 163 and 401; cf. Jumu‘ah, *Riuwāyāt*, 678. Since Zabīdī was authorized by Abū ‘l-Waqt, for him to use Maqdīsī’s manuscript—instead of the manuscript he used when studying under Abū ‘l-Waqt—was not an issue because Maqdīsī’s manuscript was copied from Abū ‘l-Waqt’s manuscript. Until the 9th century AH, Maqdīsī’s manuscript was the most authoritative for the Levantines, with reading signatures from Mundhīrī (d. 656 AH), Dhahabī and ‘Alā’ī (d. 761 AH). Trans.]

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'l-Abbās Ahmād ibn al-Huṭay'ah, who was originally from Fez and then migrated to Egypt.¹

2. A manuscript read to Aṣlī, annotated by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr Yūsuf ibn 'Abdillāh an-Namārī al-Qurtubī.²
3. The manuscript used for the audition of Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn 'Asākir 'Alī ibn al-Husayn ad-Dimashqī, the historian of the Levant, which was missing the 13th and 33rd parts.³
4. A manuscript read to Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwāl ibn 'Isā as-Sijzī al-Harawī.⁴

Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Yūnīnī thoroughly cross-referenced these manuscripts under the supervision of the celebrated authority Ibn Mālik Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh at-Tā'i al-Jayyānī, who had settled in Damascus. This [process] was conducted in the presence of eminent ḥadīth experts, who followed along with reliable manuscripts of *al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*. When they came across passages that appeared to conflict with conventional laws of Arabic grammar, Ibn Mālik would ask whether the narration was transmitted in that manner. If they responded in the affirmative, he would explicate the passage within his capacity. Whenever he selected, preferred or suggested an amendment, Yūnīnī would immediately amend his manuscript and mark it as authentic. In an instance when there were two or three desinential inflections (*i'rāb*), Yūnīnī annotated as he was advised and preferred accordingly. They proceeded in this fashion until the

1 [He used the symbol *hā'* for this manuscript. Given that Abū Dharr narrates via Mustamli (d. 376 AH), Hammūyah (d. 381 AH) and Kushmihānī (d. 389 AH) from Firabri, further symbols distinguish the source of the variant. Trans.]

2 [Via Abū Zayd al-Marwāzī (d. 371 AH) from Firabri, for which he used the symbol *sād*. Trans.]

3 [Via multiple routes leading back to Firabri, for which he used the symbol *sim*. Trans.]

4 [This was the manuscript of Abū Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (d. 562 AH) via Abū 'l-Waqt (d. 553 AH) via Dāwūdī (d. 467 AH) via Hammūyah from Firabri, for which he used the symbol *zā'*, interestingly on account of Sam'ānī's precision and phenomenal memory (*hifz*). This manuscript was also read to Karimah al-Marwaziyyah (d. 463 AH) via Kushmihānī from Firabri. As such, it contains both the variants of Abū 'l-Waqt and Karimah al-Marwaziyyah. See 'Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 150; Jumufah, *Riwayāt*, 673 and 679. Trans.]

cross-referencing and amendments were completed in the 71st session. In relation to this, Ibn Mālik wrote his book *Shawāhid at-Tawdīh wa 'l-Tashīh li-Mushkilāt al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*.¹

Yūnīnī functioned as the teacher and reciter while Ibn Mālik—who was 20 years older than him—attended as a student, listener and transmitter. In terms of transmission and audition, this was the practice of the pious predecessors in studying from reliable, qualified teachers even if the student was older than the teacher. Nonetheless, Yūnīnī also sat as a student, benefitting from Ibn Mālik in terms of language, explication and amendments to the text of the *Şahīh*.² In the introduction to *Irshād as-Sārī*,³ Qastallānī dated this audition to the year 676 AH.⁴

1 *Qabas min 'Aṭā' al-Makhtūt al-'Arabī*, 1:114. [It is clear from a close reading of *Shawāhid at-Tawdīh* and his comments noted in the margins of Yūnīnī's manuscript that Ibn Mālik did not alter any alleged grammatical errors in the text of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*. He only vowelized and explicated abstruse passages. Yet even with regards to passages that ostensibly conflicted with conventional grammar laws, if they were established as being part of the reliable transmission, then he simply provided explanations for them rather than merely rejecting them on grammatical grounds. That being said, very few passages ostensibly conflicted with conventional grammar laws, in his estimation. In many instances, he simply presented the grammatical origins of passages that already conformed to these laws, highlighted points of disagreement among grammarians, and used certain passages as a pretext to elucidate concepts that were not adequately addressed in other books. See Tahā Muhsin, "Introduction," in *Shawāhid at-Tawdīh*, 15–16. Trans.]

2 From the article of the ḥadīth expert, the erudite scholar, Shaykh Ahmād Shākir printed in the introduction of the Dār al-Jil edition of *al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*.

3 *Irshād as-Sārī*, 1:40.

4 Ahmād Shākir writes, "In *Irshād as-Sārī*, it is dated to the year 676 AH. Qastallānī spelled it out in letters: *sitt wa sab'in wa sitt mi'ah* (six-hundred and seventy-six), not numbers [in which case, there was a greater chance of a typographical error]. This is definitely a mistake, because Ibn Mālik passed away in 672 AH. At first, I thought it was a typographical error. I then consulted the manuscripts of Qastallānī's commentary at the Egyptian National Library. I found the date written like the printed edition, so I was convinced that the mistake was from the author, who made an oversight at the time of writing. The correct date is possibly 666 AH or 667 AH; hence, the source Qastallānī quoted had it written as *sitt wa sittin*, but he read *sitt wa sab'in* and quoted it as such. Alternatively, it was written as 667, but when he quoted it, he read a seven in between the two identical numbers [i.e. six]. Allah knows best the accuracy of this [explanation]. I exerted considerable effort in trying to determine the correct date. However, I could not find anything mentioned explicitly in the extant sources.

SECONDARY COPIES

Scholars have transcribed multiple manuscripts based on Yūnīnī's manuscript of *al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*, which they used for cross-referencing and amendments. They labelled these manuscripts as secondary (*fūri'*), because they were cross-referenced and amended according to Yūnīnī's manuscript. Rightfully so, they regarded Yūnīnī's manuscript as the exemplar and the ultimate criterion. In what follows, we will present only three prominent secondary copies.

First: Ghazūlī's handwritten manuscript

He is Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣafī ibn Qāsim ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Ṣūfī. He was born in Ramadān 697 AH and passed away in the early part of 777 AH.¹ In the introduction to *Irshād as-Sārī*, Qaṣṭallānī writes,

I came across several secondary copies of this master exemplar. In my estimation, the most outstanding of them is the notable secondary copy—possibly superior to the original: the copy attributed to the authority, the Ḥadīth expert, Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mizzī al-Ghazūlī, which was endowed to the Tankiziyyah by the Mahrūq entrance outside Cairo. It was cross-referenced multiple times with two copies endowed to the madrasah of Ḥājj Mālik and Yūnīnī's exemplar, such that nothing was omitted. I, therefore, relied on Ghazūlī's copy to transcribe the text of *Bukhārī* in my commentary. I consulted it for diacritizing and vowelizing the text and the chain of every ḥadīth while noting the variant recensions and important notes found in the marginalia.

Based on the Khadawiyah Library catalogue printed in 1310 AH/1892 CE, Ustādh Manūnī argues that the 2nd half of Ghazūlī's manuscript can be found in the Egyptian National Library. The truth of the matter, however, is this manuscript has been relocated and its whereabouts

¹ In *ad-Durar al-Kāminah* (3:319, no. 859), Ibn Ḥajar wrote a biographical entry for him, quoted by at-Taqī al-Fāsī in *Dhayl at-Taqīd*, 1:71, no. 23.

are unknown. During one of my visits to the Egyptian National Library over 25 years ago, I asked to see this manuscript. Instead, an ordinary manuscript—unrelated to Ghazūlī's or Yūnīnī's respective manuscripts—was brought. Ghazūlī's manuscript was probably misplaced or lost.

Second: The handwritten copy of 'Abdullāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī

He was born in 1049 AH and passed away in 1124 AH. He spent twenty years in transcribing and refining his manuscript, relying on Yūnīnī's exemplar and other manuscripts. As such, the Baṣrī manuscript conforms to a high standard of accuracy. It became the master exemplar for subsequent prominent manuscripts. The Ḥadīth expert Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī details the whereabouts of this manuscript in the following terms:

In the Illuminated Madīnah, I saw 'Abdullāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī's handwritten manuscript of the *Şahīh* in eight parts in the possession of the great transmitter, the wise, Shaykh Tāhir Sunbul. It was of the utmost accuracy, cross-referencing and precision, and it was neatly written. He told me that he took it to Turkey to amend the Amīrī manuscript of the *Şahīh* that was being printed there and was later distributed by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [II] in the masjids and throughout the world. It was harmonized upon this. I am unsure how the manuscript came to be in his family's possession.¹

Third: The handwritten manuscript of Nuwayrī

He is Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'īm ibn Munajjā ibn 'Alī ibn Ṭirād ibn Ḥaṭṭāb ibn Naṣīr ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'far ibn Hilāl ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Layth ibn Ṭalḥah ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakr as-Ṣiddīq 'Abdillāh ibn 'Atīq, the Companion of the Prophet ﷺ: [also known as] Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Abbās al-Bakrī an-Nuwayrī ash-Shāfi'ī. He was born

¹ *Fahras al-Fahāris*, 1:199.

on Wednesday night on 26 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 677 AH and passed away in 733 AH.

In *ad-Durar al-Kāminah*, Hāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar said,

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ad-Dā'im an-Nuwayrī Shihāb ad-Dīn. He heard [hadīths] from Sharīf Mūsā ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Ya'qūb al-Hadhabānī, Bint al-Munajjā and others. He transcribed eight manuscripts of the *Şahīh*. He would transcribe a manuscript, cross-reference it, add the audition certificates¹ and then sell it for 1,000 [dirhams]. He compiled a voluminous history in his own handwriting in 30 volumes, which he sold for 2,000 dirhams.

Citing Birzālī, Ibn al-Jazarī said,

He transcribed *Şahīh al-Bukhārī* eight times. He heard it being recited to [Bint] ibn al-Munajjā and Ibn ash-Shiḥnah. He had beautiful handwriting and was well spoken. He would cross reference a manuscript, bind it, add the audition certificates and then sell it for 700 dirhams, and at other times for 1,000 dirhams.²

Nuwayrī's handwritten manuscript is preserved in the Köprülü Library, Istanbul, as item no. 362 from the endowments of Fādil ibn Aḥmad Pāshā.

¹ [During an audition of a ḥadīth book, an invigilator was appointed to document the names of the attendees in a register known as a *ṭabaqah* (pl. *ṭibāq*). This register contained further information, such as the date and location of the audition and the condition of each attendee during the class. It was then kept in a masjid or a madrasah to serve as proof for the authorization of anyone who claimed to have heard the book, or the lack thereof. Abū 'Amr ibn as-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643 AH) dictated Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī's multi-volume compendium *as-Sunan al-Kubrā* to a congregation of scholars over 757 sessions. The following are some of the points that were noted in the register after he dictated the eighth volume: the number of sessions held; personal details of the attendees (e.g. names, lineages and honorifics); the state of the attendees (e.g. who spoke during the dictation); the date of completion; the venue; and the name of the registrar. See Muḥammad Duḥmān, "Introduction," in *al-Qalā'id al-Jawhariyyah fi Tārīkh as-Ṣālihiyyah*, 1:21–22; Abū Ghuddah, *Şafḥah Muṣriqah*, 103 and 137–138; the addendum to the 8th volume of *as-Sunan al-Kubrā* (the Hyderabad Deccan edition), 346–50. Trans.]

² [Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Hawādīth az-Zamān*, 2:646, no. 799. Trans.]

The Sultāniyyah Edition

Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [II] issued an imperial order for the printing of the *Şahīh* by Maṭba'ah Amīriyyah, Būlāq, in 1311 AH/1893 CE.¹ The publishing house began work that very year. The first impression was completed in nine volumes in the beginning of the two Rabī'īs 1313 AH/1895 CE. In their preface, the editors explain that they relied upon an extremely precise and accurate secondary manuscript of the *Yūnīniyyah*—the reference point for the recensions of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*—and another manuscript celebrated for its accuracy and precision. They did not, however, detail any other manuscript that they may have used. But a close study of their edition reveals that they also used Qastallānī's commentary. Furthermore, toward the end, they indicate that they were also in possession of 'Abdullāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī's manuscript.

Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd [II] also issued an imperial order to the scholars of Azhar to form a committee of scholars who were deeply immersed in the field of ḥadīth to revise the print after its editing by the publishing house. The Grand Shaykh of Azhar at the time, Ḥassūnah an-Nawāwī, gathered sixteen scholars who cross-referenced the printed edition of the *Şahīh* with the *Yūnīniyyah*, which was sent by the Grand Vizier Ghāzī Aḥmad Mukhtār Pāshā, who served as the Ottoman High Commissioner in Egypt.² Shaykh Aḥmad Shākir writes,

It is understood from the remarks of *Shaykh al-Islām* Ḥassūnah an-Nawāwī on 20 Ṣafar 1313 AH—found in the preface to the Sultāniyyah edition—that Yūnīni's exemplar is stored in the Istanbul Imperial Library. It was sent to the scholars of Azhar for the purposes

¹ [Al-Maṭba'ah al-Amīriyyah was opened in 1820 CE in Būlāq, a district in Cairo, under the auspices of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, the Ottoman Khedive of Egypt. Ownership of the press shifted over the decades as did the name. Prominent names include Maṭba'at Būlāq and Maṭba'at al-Āmirah. See Ihsānoglu, *al-Ātrāk fi Miṣr wa Turāthuhum ath-Thaqāfi*, 427–28. Trans.]

² From the article of the ḥadīth expert, the erudite scholar, Shaykh Aḥmad Shākir, who quotes the remarks of the scholars of Azhar found in the preface to the *Şahīh*, 2–3.

of revision with his excellency 'Abd as-Salām Pāshā al-Muwaylihi. Most probably this manuscript was returned to its original place in the Istanbul Imperial Library.¹

He further states,

The quoted remarks from Shaykh Ḥassūnah's preface give the impression that the print was based on the *Yūnīniyyah* itself, whereas the remarks of the editors of the Sultāniyyah indicate that the print was based on a secondary copy. I am unable to say with certainty the correctness of either view until the manuscript used for printing resurfaces and we learn the whereabouts of the *Yūnīniyyah*—if Allah enables researchers to find it.²

An Overview of the [Sultāniyyah] Edition

First, this edition of the *Şahīh* does not detail its chain of transmission to Imām Bukhārī. As established earlier, it is clear to everyone that *isnād* is an exclusive accomplishment of Islamic civilization and that it holds an important rank in the religion. The importance Ḥadīth scholars gave to *isnād* in the acceptance of transmitted knowledge led to its requirement for the acceptance of all Islamic disciplines, like Qur'ānic exegesis, jurisprudence, history, narrator criticism, genealogy, lexicography, syntax, belles-lettres, poetry and stories. The case is similar with books written in this period where they have reached us via the chains of their transmitters, even if the number of

¹ Ibid. [During and after Yūnīni's lifetime, his manuscript was accessible and countless secondary copies were written. It was then transferred as an endowment to the Mamluk official 'Alā' ad-Dīn Aqbughā's (d. 843 AH) madrasah in Cairo, during which time Qastallānī (d. 923 AH) used it for his commentary on the *Şahīh*, entitled *Irshād as-Sārī*. After remaining in the possession of Muhammad ar-Rūdānī (d. 1094 AH), the author of *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, it passed into the hands of the Meccan Ḥadīth expert 'Abdullāh ibn Salīm al-Baṣrī (d. 1134 AH). See Manūni, "Şahīh al-Bukhārī fī 'd-Dirāsāt al-Maghribiyyah," *Majallat al-Lughah al-Ārabiyyah* 29 (1394 AH), 533; 'Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 231–32. Trans.]

² Ibid. [Şalāh Fathī succinctly summarizes the various opinions, concluding that they definitely did not use the original *Yūnīniyyah*; rather, they relied upon important secondary sources like 'Abdullāh al-Baṣrī's manuscript. See Şalāh Fathī, *Tahrīr al-Asl al-Mū'tamad fī 'l-Tabāh as-Sultāniyyah*, 15. Trans.]

transmitters for a particular book was widespread. In fact, scholars regard this as a bona fide requirement for accepting these books and establishing their ascription to their respective authors. In fact, the slogan in transmitting manuscripts was "Chains of transmission are the pedigrees of books."¹ The application of nuanced principles of transmission and meticulous adherence to the various phrases of reception that indicate the manner of audition and transmission of books are the most effective academic tools for safeguarding books from alteration.²

Departing from the unflinching adherence of Ḥadīth scholars to unbroken chains, the scholars who produced this valuable edition have omitted one of its most fundamental underpinnings: citing the unbroken chain of transmission until Bukhārī in the beginning of the manuscript. This omission has left writers on this edition bewildered.

Second, the scholarly adherence to citing *isnād* was even transferred to the commentators of Ḥadīth books. Thus, Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kirmānī (d. 786 AH),³ Sirāj ad-Dīn ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804 AH),⁴ Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852 AH),⁵ Badr ad-Dīn Muḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Āynī (d. 855 AH)⁶ and Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Qastallānī (d. 923 AH)⁷ cite their chains of transmission to Imām Bukhārī in the introduction to their respective commentaries before commencing their discussions, due to the importance of the successive chain leading back to the compiler.

Third, the manuscript [of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*] that we are presenting to the readers is from "The High Mawlawī Sayyidi Mālikī Makhdūmī Şāhibi Library—may Allāh populate it with the perpetuation of its owner," as noted on the cover page.⁸ It is a secondary copy of the

¹ *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:5.

² *Tawthīq an-Nuṣūṣ wa Dabīḥā 'ind al-Muḥaddithīn*, 27–28.

³ *Al-Kawākib ad-Darārī*, 1:2–4.

⁴ *Al-Tawdīh li-Sharḥ al-Jāmi' as-Şahīh*, 1:56–57.

⁵ *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:5.

⁶ *'Umdat al-Qārī*, 1:22–23.

⁷ *Irshād as-Sārī*, 1:69.

⁸ [This possibly refers to the library of the Şāhibi Bahā'ī Madrasah founded by the

master exemplar, written by the great historian Nuwayrī. It is the 5th of seven—as Nuwayrī explicitly states, or eight as others state—manuscripts that he had written. This is the chain of transmission cited in the beginning of the book:

It was related to us by the two long-lived great Damascene transmitters: (i) Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Abbās Ahmad ibn Abī Tālib ibn Abī 'n-Ni'mān Ni'mah ibn Hasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bayān ibn ash-Shihnah al-Ḥajjār as-Ṣāliḥī and (ii) the descendant of scholars, Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad Wazīrah, daughter of the knowledgeable authority, Shaykh Shams ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, son of the erudite authority and judge, Wajīh ad-Dīn As'ad ibn al-Munajjā at-Tanūkhī—through recitation to them as I listened in the Manṣūriyyah located in the Bayn al-Qaṣrāyin district, Islamic Cairo, in Jumādā al-Ūlā during the months of 715 AH.

They [Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā'] said: Shaykh Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā az-Zabīdī narrated to us in Shawwāl 630 AH, in the Muẓaffarī Mosque on Mount Qasiyun, Damascus:

Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwāl ibn 'Isā ibn Shu'ayb ibn Iṣhāq ibn Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī as-Ṣūfī al-Harawī, related to us through recitation to him as we listened in Baghdad in the latter part of 552 AH and the beginning of 553 AH:

Imām Jamāl al-Islām Abū 'l-Hasan 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Mu'ādh ibn Sahl ibn al-Ḥakam ad-Dāwūdī related to you through recitation to him in Pushān in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 465 AH:

Imām Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammūyah ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn A'yan as-Sarakhsī related to us through recitation to him in Ṣafar 381 AH:

vizier Şāhib Bahā' ad-Dīn (d. 677 AH) in 654 AH. Maqrīzī writes that this madarsah was the greatest institution of learning in Egypt, if not in the world, and was celebrated for its extensive library. See Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Itibār*, 4:211; Ma'sarānī, "Tajalliyāt al-Jamāl fi Nuskhat al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ li 'l-Bukhārī bi-Khaṭṭ an-Nuwayrī: Dirāsah wa Tāḥqīq," *Majallat at-Turāth an-Nabawī* 1:3 (2018), 29–30. Trans.]

Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Bishr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Firabī related to us in Firabī in the year 316 AH:

Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Āhnaf (a client of the Ju'fīs) al-Bukhārī related to us in Firabī in 248 AH once and again in [2]52 AH.

Fourth, the title of the *Şāhiḥ* found on the printed manuscripts of the work does not correspond to the title designated by Imām Bukhārī. The current title is an abbreviation, perhaps by a transmitter or a scribe, and the publishing houses simply followed suit for the purposes of brevity. Imām Nawawī writes, "As for its title, then its author, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Bukhārī, named it *al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-Musnad min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi*."¹ This title has been expressly mentioned in this manuscript:

Kitāb al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-Musnad min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi.

Compiled by Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughīrah ibn al-Āhnaf al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī ﷺ, via the transmission of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabī, via Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammūyah as-Sarakhsī, via Abū 'l-Hasan 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ad-Dāwūdī, via Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwāl ibn 'Isā ibn Shu'ayb as-Sijzī al-Harawī, via Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā az-Zabīdī, via Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Yūnīnī, Abū 'l-Abbās Ahmad ibn Abī Tālib al-Ḥajjār as-Ṣāliḥī, Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad Wazīrah bint 'Umar ibn As'ad ibn al-Munajjā at-Tanūkhī and others.

¹ *At-Talkīṣ Sharḥ al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ*, 1:213. [On the title of *Şāhiḥ al-Bukhārī*, see Abū Ghuddah, *Tāḥqīq Ismāy as-Şāhiḥayn wa Ism Jāmi' at-Tirmidhī*, 9–12 and 66–75. One of the earliest extant manuscripts of *Şāhiḥ al-Bukhārī* from the recension of Abū Zayd al-Marwāzī via Firabī written in the 5th century bears the title *al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Musnad min Hadīth Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi*. See Sallūm, "Introduction," in *al-Mukhtaṣar an-Naṣīḥ*, 76. Trans.]

master exemplar, written by the great historian Nuwayrī. It is the 5th of seven—as Nuwayrī explicitly states, or eight as others state—manuscripts that he had written. This is the chain of transmission cited in the beginning of the book:

It was related to us by the two long-lived great Damascene transmitters: (i) Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib ibn Abī 'n-Ni'ām Ni'mah ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bayān ibn ash-Shiḥnah al-Ḥajjār as-Şāliḥī and (ii) the descendant of scholars, Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad Wazīrah, daughter of the knowledgeable authority, Shaykh Shams ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, son of the erudite authority and judge, Wajih ad-Dīn As'ad ibn al-Munajjā at-Tanūkhī—through recitation to them as I listened in the Manṣūriyyah located in the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn district, Islamic Cairo, in Jumādā al-Ūlā during the months of 715 AH.

They [Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā'] said: Shaykh Sirāj ad-Dīn Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā az-Zabīdī narrated to us in Shawwāl 630 AH, in the Muẓaffarī Mosque on Mount Qasiyun, Damascus:

Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal ibn 'Isā ibn Shu'ayb ibn Ishaq ibn Ibrāhīm as-Sijzī as-Şūfi al-Harawī, related to us through recitation to him as we listened in Baghdad in the latter part of 552 AH and the beginning of 553 AH:

Imām Jamāl al-Islām Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Mu'ādh ibn Sahl ibn al-Ḥakam ad-Dāwūdī related to you through recitation to him in Pushang in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 465 AH:

Imām Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Hammūyah ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn A'yan as-Sarakhsī related to us through recitation to him in Ṣafar 381 AH:

vizier Şāhib Bahā' ad-Dīn (d. 677 AH) in 654 AH. Maqrīzī writes that this madarsah was the greatest institution of learning in Egypt, if not in the world, and was celebrated for its extensive library. See Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Itibār*, 4:211; Ma'sharānī, "Tajalliyāt al-Jamāl fi Nuskhat al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ li 'l-Bukhārī bi-Khaṭṭ an-Nuwayrī: Dirāsah wa Tahqīq," *Majallat at-Turāth an-Nabawī* 1:3 (2018), 29–30. Trans.]

Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Bishr ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bukhārī al-Firabī related to us in Firabī in the year 316 AH:

Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughirah ibn al-Āhnaf (a client of the Ju'fīs) al-Bukhārī related to us in Firabī in 248 AH once and again in [2]52 AH.

Fourth, the title of the *Şāhiḥ* found on the printed manuscripts of the work does not correspond to the title designated by Imām Bukhārī. The current title is an abbreviation, perhaps by a transmitter or a scribe, and the publishing houses simply followed suit for the purposes of brevity. Imām Nawawī writes, "As for its title, then its author, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Bukhārī, named it *al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-Musnad min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanihi wa Ayyāmihi*."¹ This title has been expressly mentioned in this manuscript:

Kitāb al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Mukhtaṣar al-Musnad min Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanihi wa Ayyāmihi.

Compiled by Imām Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mughirah ibn al-Āhnaf al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī ﷺ, via the transmission of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabī, via Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Hammūyah as-Sarakhsī, via Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar ad-Dāwūdī, via Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal ibn 'Isā ibn Shu'ayb as-Sijzī al-Harawī, via Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā az-Zabīdī, via Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Yūnīnī, Abū 'l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥajjār as-Şāliḥī, Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad Wazīrah bint 'Umar ibn As'ad ibn al-Munajjā at-Tanūkhī and others.

¹ *At-Talkhiṣ Sharḥ al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ*, 1:213. [On the title of *Şāhiḥ al-Bukhārī*, see Abū Ghuddah, *Tahqīq Ismay as-Şāhiḥayn wa Ism Jāmi' at-Tirmidhī*, 9–12 and 66–75. One of the earliest extant manuscripts of *Şāhiḥ al-Bukhārī* from the recension of Abū Zayd al-Marwāzī via Firabī written in the 5th century bears the title *al-Jāmi' as-Şāhiḥ al-Musnad min Hadīth Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanihi*. See Sallūm, "Introduction," in *al-Mukhtaṣar an-Naṣīḥ*, 76. Trans.]

This passage clarifies the title of the book as designated by Imām Bukhārī رض. A gross alteration was made in the title during the first print and it continued until the present day. This passage also clarifies the transmitters of the book from Hāfiẓ Yūnīnī, Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā' until Imām Bukhārī.

Fifth, the value of the handwritten manuscript [i.e. Nuwayrī's manuscript] lies in the prominence of its scribe and the appended audition certificates. The *Yūnīyyah* is distinguished from other well-known manuscripts by these traits, the mention of the date of its transcription and appended audition certificates. Evidence for this is found in the end of the manuscript in the handwriting of the great historian Nuwayrī:

Its transcription was completed on the blessed Saturday 20 Jumādā al-Ūlā 725 AH. Written for himself by the neediest of creation for Allah's mercy: Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ad-Da'im ibn Munajjā ibn 'Alī ibn Ṭirād ibn Ḥattāb ibn Naṣr ibn Ismā'il ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'far ibn Hilāl ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Layth ibn Ṭalḥah ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn Abī Bakr as-Siddīq 'Abdillāh ibn 'Atīq, the Companion of the Prophet صلی اللہ علیہ وسالہ وآلہ وسالہ...

This scribe is known as Nuwayrī. May Allah pardon him, be kind with him, and forgive him through His kindness and clemency! This is his 5th handwritten copy of Abū 'Abdillāh al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi'* as-*Sahīh*—for Allah alone are all praise and benefaction!

From this passage, we learn the name of the scribe, the year of its transcription and its numbering; he transcribed *al-Jāmi'* as-*Sahīh* seven times, as he mentions in *Nihāyat al-Arab*.

IMĀM NUWAYRĪ'S MANUSCRIPT

With Allah's help, we came across an invaluable manuscript of *al-Jāmi'* as-*Sahīh* beautifully written by the pen of a scholar, jurist, lexicographer, belletrist, historian, scribe and [hadīth] audition-registrar, who was celebrated among scholars for accurate writing and com-

prehension. As noted earlier, it is said that his manuscripts were sold for 1,000 dirhams a piece owing to their precision and quality. How could this not be so when the scribe is Imām Shihāb ad-Dīn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bakrī an-Nuwayrī, author of the encyclopedic compendium *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*.

In the entry of Imām Yūnīnī, Nuwayrī described his own manuscript of the *Sahīh* رض:

He afforded scholarly care to *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* with all its routes. He thoroughly refined his manuscript, assigning a symbol for each route and wrote accurate annotations on the work. I transcribed *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* from his manuscript seven times. I refined it like he refined it, and I cross-referenced it with his exemplar. That was the manuscript I used for my audition with Ḥajjār and Wazīrah.¹

This manuscript is decorated with useful notes and corrections penned by Hāfiẓ Yūnīnī from the invaluable comments of Qādī 'Iyād, Abū 'Alī al-Ghassānī, Ibn Mālik and other critical, meticulous scholars رض.

Description of the Manuscript

This manuscript is complete and written in diacritized Naskh script, containing 298 sheets each sized 32 cm x 35 cm with 35 lines per page. The chapters and sub-chapters are written in red as well as the numbers, notwithstanding errors therein.

It [the *Yūnīyyah*] was read by senior Ḥadīth experts to the two great transmitters of the world: Ibn ash-Shiħnah al-Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā' Umm Muḥammad.² The senior Ḥadīth experts who have read this manuscript include:

1. Nūr ad-Dīn al-Ḥāshimī [d. 725 AH].
2. Ibn Sayyid an-Nās al-Yā'murī [d. 734 AH].

¹ *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 32:8.

² [As we have seen in Nuwayrī's chain of transmission, in 715 AH Ḥajjār and Sitt al-Wuzarā' held an audition of the *Sahīh* in the Mansūriyyah in Cairo. Also see Ma'sarānī, "Tajalliyāt al-Jamāl," 18. Trans.]

3. 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān ibn at-Turkumānī [d. 750 AH], who read from his own manuscript [during the audition where the *Yūnīyyah* was used].
4. Athīr ad-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalūsī [d. 745 AH].
5. Taqī ad-Dīn as-Subkī [d. 757 AH].
6. Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Muqātilī [d. 717 AH].
7. Jamāl ad-Dīn aṣ-Ṣābūnī [d. 731 AH].
8. Shihāb ad-Dīn ibn al-Bābā [d. 749 AH].

In addition, there is Ḥāfiẓ 'Irāqī [d. 806 AH], Ḥāfiẓ Haythamī [d. 807 AH] and others.¹

Reading Certificates²

1. It was completed through audition in the citadel with recitation by... to *Shaykh al-Islām* Ḥāfiẓ Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī.³

¹ [Dr A'zāmī prepared this list based on the reading signatures found throughout Nuwayrī's manuscript. As will be explained shortly, however, some of the signatures were written on the original *Yūnīyyah* and later appended by Nuwayrī to his own manuscript while other reading signatures were written for Nuwayrī's manuscript. Therefore, some of the scholars listed here read the *Yūnīyyah* (e.g. Ibn Sayyid an-Nās) and others read Nuwayrī's manuscript (e.g. 'Irāqī). Trans.]

² [At first blush, reading certificates and registers that are appended to ḥadīth manuscripts may seem insignificant. However, they can play an important role in literature preservation, establishing authorization and providing a snapshot of history. Based on information detailed in manuscript notes and reading certificates, a recent study restructured a micro-history of the reading sessions of Ibn 'Asākir's (d. 571 AH) mammoth *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* in Damascus, determining thereby "the background of individual participants in terms of cultural milieu, social position and status." See Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Period*, 33; Abū Ghuddah, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muṣhrīqah*, 79 and 146. Trans.]

³ [As alluded to earlier, some of the reading certificates written on Nuwayrī's 5th manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* do not reflect the audition of this specific manuscript. This is clear from the fact that the manuscript was transcribed in 725 AH but contains reading signatures from Ibn Sayyid an-Nās dated to 715 AH, for instance. When transcribing his manuscripts from the *Yūnīyyah*, Nuwayrī had also transcribed the appended reading certificates found on the *Yūnīyyah* as well as those found on 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Maqdīsī's manuscript, the *Yūnīyyah*'s exemplar. He even asked the original signatories to re-sign his copy in order to preserve their certificates in their own handwriting. See 'Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 158–159 and 182–192; cf. Sa'īd al-Jūmānī, "Ṣūrat al-Ijāzāt al-Manqūlah fi 'l-Makhtūṭat al-'Arabiyyah," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 9 (2018), 85; Ma'sarānī, "Tajalliyāt al-Jamāl," 15–19. Trans.]

2. Ahmād al-Ushmūnī completed it through recitation to *Shaykh al-Islām*, the erudite, Zayn ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahīm [in 37 sessions, the last of which was in the citadel...].
3. It was completed through recitation in the 23rd session in al-Bustān al-Karīmī on 29 Rabi' al-Ākhir [7]15 AH, to the two Shaykhs [Ḥajjār and Wazīrah]—all praise is for Allah!
4. Then it was completed through recitation a second time specifically to *Shaykh Abū 'l-Abbās ibn ash-Shiḥnāh* [al-Ḥajjār] in the citadel in the 21st session on 3 Ramaḍān 723 AH. Signed by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sayyid an-Nās Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Yā'murī—all praise is for Allah!
5. It was completed through recitation from his manuscript in the 18th session by the Nāṣirī entrance in Egypt, on 16 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 715 AH. It was then completed through recitation from his manuscript in the 18th session also on 16 Rajab in the year... Signed by 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Māridīnī, praising Allah and sending salutations upon His Prophet.
6. Ahmād ibn 'Uthmān al-Kulūtātī completed the entire book through recitation to *Shaykh al-Islām* Zayn ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī.
7. Ahmād ibn al-Kulūtātī completed the entire book with the erudite scholar Burhān ad-Dīn al-Abnāsī in his spiritual lodge in 785 AH.
8. Ahmād ibn al-Kulūtātī completed it through recitation to *Shaykh al-Islām* [Jamāl ad-Dīn] ibn al-Bulqīnī in the year 821 AH.
9. It was completed through recitation to the authority *Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī al-Qurashī* with another manuscript from the beginning of the book until the chapter on the obligation of zakat, and with this manuscript from the obligation of zakat until the end of the book over a number of sessions [the last being on Thursday Ṣafar 770 AH. Signed by Muḥammad ibn ash-Sharābīshī].
10. It was completed through audition in the 23rd to Najm ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahīm [ibn Razīn with the recitation of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdīllāh] ibn Zāhirah al-Makkī [in Egypt].

11. It was completed through audition to the four teachers: Ibrāhīm ash-Shāmī, in its entirety. . . al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Hujjah ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm al-‘Irāqī, ḥāfiẓ Nūr [ad-Dīn] al-Haythamī, ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad ad-Dījawī—seeking help [from Allah] and [for] the believers. Signed by al-Muhibb ibn Abī ’l-‘Abbās.
12. Aḥmad ibn al-Maṇṣūr al-Ushmūnī completed through recitation to *Shaykh al-Islām*, the learned, the erudite, Zayn ad-Dīn [. . .] in 35 sessions, the last being the eighth [sic].¹

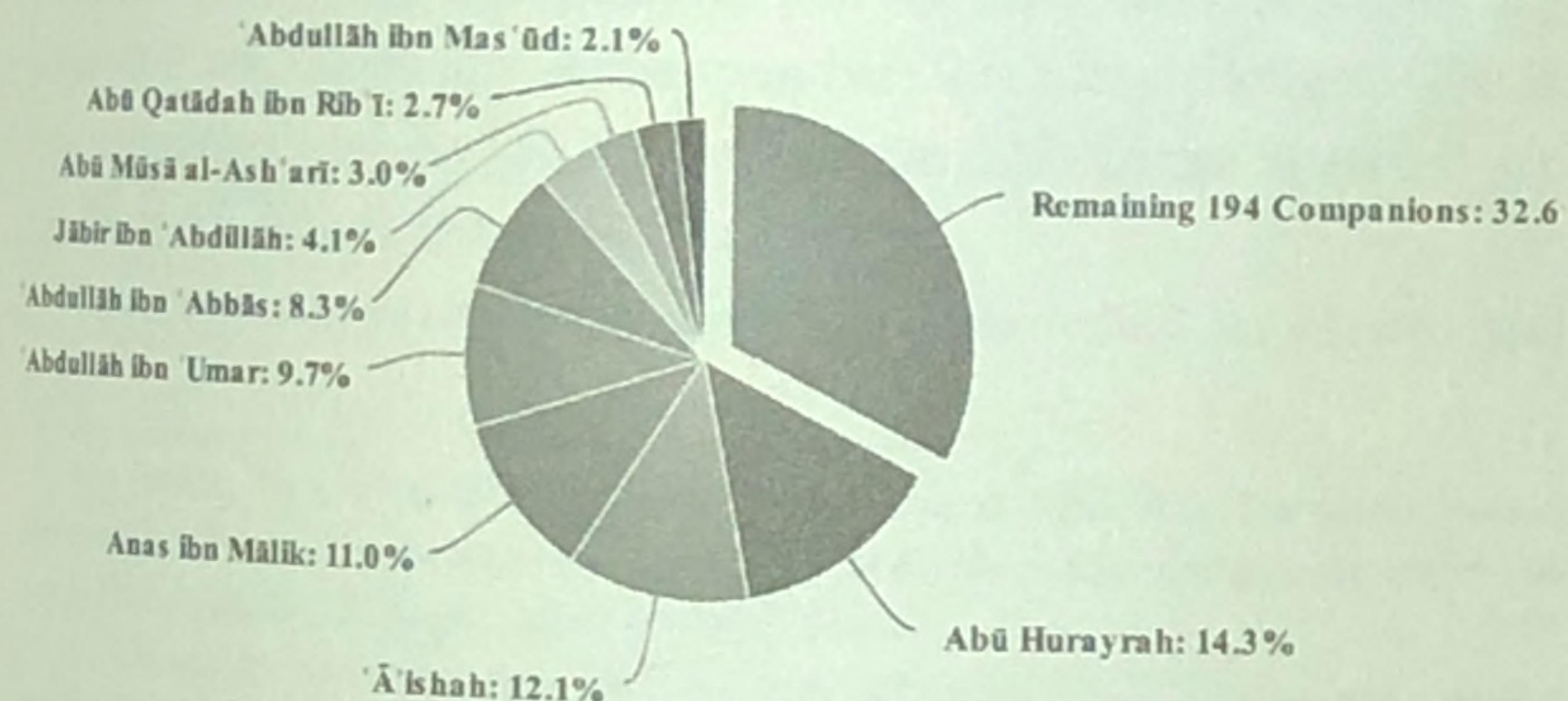
End of *al-Jāmi’ as-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Umūr Rasūlillāh—ṣallallāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam—wa Sunanīhi wa Ayyāmīhi*, compilation of the authority, the Hadith expert, Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ismā’īl ibn Ibrāhīm—may Allah have mercy on him, be pleased with him and grant him Paradise!

Appendices

¹ [There are audition signatures written throughout Nuwayri’s 5th manuscript that are not listed here. Maṣarānī lists 112 signatures scattered throughout the entire manuscript; yet he reminds the readers that he purposely omitted some of the signatures. See *op. cit.*, 39–64. The ellipses here from Dr A’zamī indicate illegible passages in the manuscript, some of which I have filled by reading the manuscript itself and ‘Utaybī’s *Kitāb Jabr*. Trans.]

Author's Appendix

Imām Bukhārī narrates over two thirds of the ḥadīths in his *Sahīh* from nine Companions. The following chart illustrates the percentage of ḥadīth from each of these Companions. Abū Hurayrah, for instance, narrates 1,049 ḥadīth, which is 14.3% of the overall ḥadīth in the *Sahīh*.



Translator's Appendix 1

MUHAMMAD IBN YŪSUF AL-FIRABRĪ

Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Firabrī was born in Firabr—a town that lay a parasang north of the Oxus on the road to Bukhara—in the year 231 AH.¹ Celebrated as one of Bukhārī's last surviving students, he played a pivotal role in the transmission of the *Šaḥīḥ*.² Countless experts in the field of Ḥadīth have narrated ḥadīths via Firabrī directly (e.g. Ibn as-Sakan³ and Ibn 'Adī⁴) and indirectly (e.g. Khaṭṭābī⁵ and Bayhaqī⁶). After spending a relatively lengthy life in disseminating knowledge, Firabrī breathed his last in Shawwāl 320 AH. May Allah have mercy on his soul!⁷

Scholars have explicitly and implicitly⁸ vouched for his credibil-

¹ Spuler, "Firabr" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Historians debated the vowelization of Firabr. Some pronounced it as Farabr while others maintained that it was Firabr. See Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 11–14.

² As mentioned previously, Dhahabī does not accept Firabrī's statement, "90,000 people heard the *Šaḥīḥ* of Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, and no one besides me remains who transmits it from him."

³ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 7:375.

⁴ See, for instance, Ibn 'Adī, *Kāmil*, 1:123. In fact, Ibn 'Adī was an important transmitter of the *Šaḥīḥ* via Firabrī in Jurjān. See Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 129.

⁵ Khaṭṭābī, *A'lām al-Hadīth*, 1:106.

⁶ See, for instance, Bayhaqī, *as-Sunan al-Kubrā*, 5:93, no. 9110; idem, *Shu'ab al-Īmān*, 4:421, no. 2750.

⁷ Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām an-Nubalā'*, 15:10–13.

⁸ On the concept of implicit accreditation (*tawthīq dimmī*), see 'Awwāmah, *Dirāsāt al-Kāshīf*, 39–43.

ity. Abū 'l-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 474 AH) states that Firabrī was “reliable, prominent”¹ and Abū Bakr as-Sam'ānī (d. 520 AH) adds that he was “scrupulous.”² In his biographical dictionary of impugned transmitters, Ibn 'Adī (d. 365 AH) set out to include every transmitter who was weak in his opinion and exclude those he believed were reliable.³ Despite narrating from Firabrī multiple times in his book, Ibn 'Adī does not include an entry on him nor does he negatively comment about him.⁴ That a host of students and scholars alike have flocked from distant lands to transmit the *Sahīh* from Firabrī speaks volumes about his status as a transmitter. It is no wonder that he was, as Rushāṭī (d. 547 AH) explains, the main reference in transmitting the *Sahīh*.⁵

There are multiple recensions of *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* besides Firabri's, including that of Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil (d. 295 AH) and Ḥammād ibn Shākir (d. 311 AH).⁶ Firabrī's rise to prominence—vis-à-vis the *Sahīh* in comparison to his fellow transmitters—can be credited, in part, to his frequent studies under Bukhārī, access to the original manuscript, his recension being the most complete and a long lifespan.⁷

Given the preponderance of evidence to suggest his credibility, to argue that he was unreliable would require cogent proof to the contrary. For argument's sake, even if there was nothing explicit or implicit to vouch for his reliability, the default position of someone

1 Bājī, *at-Tā'ḍil wa 't-Tajrīḥ*, 1:173.

2 Ibn Nuqṭah, *Taqyīd*, 126.

3 Ibn 'Adī, *Kāmil*, 1:78–79, 241 and 302.

4 See, for instance, *ibid.*, 1:123, 1:359 and 5:408.

5 Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 15 and 16.

6 The claim that Ibrāhīm ibn Ma'qil's recension lacks 300 hadiths that are found in Firabri's recension is an exaggeration. Dr Shifā' al-Faqīh estimates that the number is 64 ḥadīths. See Shifā', *Riwāyāt al-Jāmī' as-Ṣahīh li 'l-Imām al-Bukhārī*, 62–65; Sallūm, “Introduction,” in 'Adad Jamī' Ḥadīth al-Jāmī' as-Ṣahīh, 16–17; Sāmīḥ Mutawalli, *Ziyādāt al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar al-Firabrī 'alā Ṣahīh al-Bukhārī*, 26. The variation of 64 ḥadīths in a text that contains, as mentioned earlier, a total of 10,687 reports (i.e. roughly 0.6% of the *Sahīh*) is insignificant. Furthermore, the disparity in the number of ḥadīths each recension contains stems from the amount each transmitter was able to study under Bukhārī. It does not stem from a disagreement on the actual number of ḥadīths in the *Sahīh*. See Ibn Hajar, *Nukat*, 1:294; cf. Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 385.

7 Mutawalli, *Ziyādāt*, 24–29.

characterized with knowledge is that of uprightness, as explained by the Mālikī Ḥadīth expert Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463 AH).¹ Concluding his biographical entry on Firabrī, Ibn Rushayd states that those who ask about his credibility should receive Yahyā ibn Ma'īn's reply to a person who asked about the credibility of some leading Ḥadīth scholars: “Hey lunatic, have you seen anyone ask about the likes of these people?”²

1 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Muqaddimat at-Tamhīd*, in *Khams Rasā'il fī 'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*, 88–92; 'Awwāmah, annotations on *Tadrib ar-Rāwī*, 4:19–21. It should be emphasized that the maxim applied here is for argument's sake, because its accurate application is in the case of unknown transmitters. In our case, there is sufficient proof to verify Firabri's standing among transmitters. Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattāḥ explains that the academic heritage left by scholars is evidence of their rank. The dearth of explicit approval or detailed biographies has no bearing on their reliability. He adds a couplet of poetry, which ends with, “The Night of Power (*Laylat al-Qadar*) is hidden, yet it is the best of nights.” See Abū Ghuddah, *Khams Rasā'il*, 92.

2 Ibn Rushayd, *Ifādat an-Naṣīḥ*, 15–16.

Translator's Appendix 2

ŞAGHĀNĪ'S MANUSCRIPT OF ŞAHİH AL-BUKHĀRĪ

Modern concerns surrounding the disappearance of *Şahih al-Bukhārī*'s exemplar stem from a failure to grasp the nuances of Ḥadīth transmission. Consequently, Alphonse Mingana (d. 1937 CE), for one, has erroneously criticized the authorship of *Şahih al-Bukhārī*.¹ In general, Ḥadīth scholars deemed oral transmission as the most authoritative method of establishing ḥadīths and were, therefore, not as concerned with the disappearance of original manuscripts.² The transmission of *Şahih al-Bukhārī*, Qastallānī (d. 932 AH) explains, rests primarily on the medium of oral transmission, not on manuscripts.³

However, these concerns can be relatively assuaged by the presence of a valuable manuscript that was cross-referenced with Firabrī's (d. 320 AH) holograph: Rađī ad-Dīn aş-Şaghānī's (d. 650 AH) manuscript of *Şahih al-Bukhārī*. Given Firabrī's acquaintance with Bukhārī, frequent study of the *Şahih* under him,⁴ and access to Bukhārī's exemplar, his manuscript of the *Şahih* was on par with the original. As such, the significance of a manuscript that was cross-referenced

¹ Mingana, "An Important Ms. of Bukhārī's *Şahih*," in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1936), 289.

² 'Abd al-Qādir Jalāl, *Ila' al-Bukhārī*, 63.

³ Qastallānī, *Irshād as-Sārī*, 1:24.

⁴ As stated earlier, Firabrī studied the *Şahih* under Bukhārī for the first time in Firabrī in 248 AH, the second time in Bukhara in 252 AH, and the third time again in Firabrī in 253, 254 and 255 AH. See Ibn Nuqṭah, *Taqyīd*, 126; Mutawallī, *Ziyādāt*, 29–31; Şālih Fathī, "Nuskhāt *Şahih al-Bukhārī*," 80–84.

with Firabri's holograph cannot be overstressed. This appendix will shed light on Şaghānī's biography and the value of his manuscript of the *Şahīh*.

Biography

The Hanafi lexicographer Rađī ad-Dīn al-Hasan was born in Lahore 577 AH. He owes his sobriquet "Şaghānī" to his ancestral land in the upper Oxus province of Chāghāniyān—Arabicized to Şāghāniyān.¹ After receiving his primary education in Ghaznah (present-day Afghanistan), his academic travels took him to the broader Indian subcontinent, Yemen, Makkah and Baghdad (at the Nizāmiyyah). In 617 AH, while in Baghdad, he served as an envoy to India for the Abbasid caliph Nāṣir and later for Mustanṣir.² He was a polymath and a prolific author,³ described by Dimyātī (d. 705 AH) as an "authority in language, Islamic law and Ḥadīth."⁴

His forte was lexicography; he wrote a 20-volume compendium entitled *al-‘Ubāb az-Zākhir*. He wielded an equally strong command of the disciplines of Ḥadīth, as evidenced by his countless works like *Mashāriq al-Anwār* (a digest of the *Şahīhayn* celebrated as the earliest contribution to Ḥadīth from an Indian scholar⁵), a gloss on *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, a biographical dictionary on Bukhārī's teachers,⁶ and treatises on forgeries,⁷ to name the most prominent.⁸ In addition, he

¹ Rahmān ‘Ali, *Tadhkirah Ulamā-e Hind* (trans. Zayn al-‘Abidin al-‘A’zāmī), 86; Ramzi Baalbaki, "as-Şaghānī," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition; Ibn as-Sā‘ī, *ad-Durr ath-Thamīn*, 344. Şaghānī is also known as Şaghān with an elongated alif. See Hamawi, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 3:1015; Hīrānī, *Qilādat an-Nahr*, 5:311.

² Ibn as-Sā‘ī, *ad-Durr ath-Thamīn*, 344; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmā’ al-Ādāb*, 6:490.

³ He is also recognized for his unique style of writing. For instance, beneath the letter *sīn*, he would write a letter *sīn* in a lower font to avoid confusing it for the letter *shīn*. On Şaghānī's style of writing, see Khān, "Introduction," in *Murtajal*, 11; Abū Ghuddah, footnotes on *Tashīh al-Kutub*, 28.

⁴ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 14:637.

⁵ Ramzi Baalbaki, "Şaghānī," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition.

⁶ Sezgin, *Tārīkh at-Turāth al-‘Arabī*, 1:252.

⁷ For historical context on these treatises, see Karagözoglu, *Contested Avenues in Post-Classical Sunnī Hadīth Criticism*, 167–68.

⁸ Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 14:636–638. On his expertise in Ḥadīth, see Chishti,

mastered Khatṭābī's *Ma‘ālim as-Sunan* and counseled his students to memorize al-Qāsim ibn Sallām's *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*.¹ He passed away on 19 Sha‘bān 650 AH, in Baghdad, but his body was relocated to Makkah where he was buried according to his final wishes.²

Şaghānī's Manuscript of the *Şahīh*

As his oeuvre suggests, Şaghānī took special interest in Bukhārī's *Şahīh*. Furthermore, he studied the *Şahīh* under several direct students of Abū ‘l-Waqt as-Sijzī (d. 553 AH), a key transmitter of the work.³ During his stay in Baghdad, Şaghānī spent a considerable amount of time editing a particular manuscript of *Şahīh al-Bukhārī*, later entitled the Baghdādī manuscript. This was not the first manuscript of the *Şahīh* that he wrote. Earlier while sojourning in Aden, Yemen, he transcribed several manuscripts, which he left there as endowments.⁴ The most notable value of the Baghdādī manuscript lies in Şaghānī's cross-analysis of it with another key manuscript: Firabri's holograph.⁵

The reader may recall that Firabri had access to Bukhārī's exemplar that was transcribed by his copyist Abū Ja‘far al-Warrāq.⁶ A close reading of Şaghānī's manuscript further reveals that he had access to Ibrāhīm ibn Ma‘qil's (d. 295 AH) recension, a direct transmitter from Bukhārī.⁷ In many places, Şaghānī alludes to material found exclusively in Firabri's manuscript, e.g. commentary and preferences

¹ İmām-e Lughat Hasan ibn Muhammed as-Şaghānī al-Lāhorī 2, 131–136. In the 1959 edition of the monthly *Mā‘ārif* magazine, Maulana ‘Abd al-Halim Chishti contributed nine columns (January to September) on the life and times of Şaghānī.

² Hamawi, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 3:1015.

³ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmā’ al-Ādāb*, 6:490.

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⁵ Abū Makhramah, *Tārīkh Thaghīr Adān*, 86.

⁶ Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:153.

⁷ A‘zāmī, "Introduction," in *al-Jāmī al-Musnad as-Şahīh*, 15; Sezgin, *Tārīkh at-Turāth al-‘Arabī*, 1:226; cf. Shifā’, *Riwāyāt al-Jāmī as-Şahīh*, 429–30. That Firabri gained access to Bukhārī's exemplar through Abū Ja‘far al-Warrāq explains how the manuscript came to be in his possession after Bukhārī's demise.

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⁸ Mutawallī, *Ziyādāt*, 12.

from *Bukhārī*,¹ added information on the transmitters² and continuity of truncated chains.³ In one place, he consults *Firabri*'s manuscript to respond to *Ismā'ili*'s critique of *Bukhārī*.⁴ Dr *Sāmiḥ Mutawalli* details the locations of at least ten copies of *Şaghānī*'s manuscript in libraries throughout Turkey, Saudi Arabia and England.⁵

Further underscoring the value of this manuscript, subsequent scholars have put it to good use. Distinguished commentators on the *Şahīh* like *Shams ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī* (d. 786 AH),⁶ *Badr ad-Dīn al-‘Aynī* (d. 855 AH),⁷ *Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī* (d. 852 AH)⁸ and *Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qastallānī* (d. 923 AH)⁹ have cited material from *Şaghānī*'s

1 For instance, under ḥadīth no. 1511, the words “*Abū ‘Abdillāh* said: He intends *Banū Nāfi‘*” are added.

2 For instance, under ḥadīth no. 6433, the words “He is *Humrān ibn Abān*” are added.

3 For instance, ḥadīth no. 229 is transmitted via ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṣalīḥ from al-*Layth*. In any case, under no. 2063, the ḥadīth is repeated with a continuous chain in the other manuscripts. See *Yūsufān*, *al-Muḥaddith aṣ-Şaghānī*, 7–10; *Sallūm*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī min Ṣahīḥ al-Bukhārī wa Qīmatuhā al-‘Ilmiyyah* in *alukah.net/library/0/39186* (last accessed 10/15/2018).

4 ‘Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 285–86. There is only one instance where *Şaghānī*'s manuscript contains an additional Prophetic ḥadīth. Under ḥadīth no. 63, *Bukhārī* transmits the famous exchange between Ǧimām ibn Thā’labah and the Prophet ﷺ. In all other manuscripts, he then follows it with an alternative chain of transmission and alludes to the previous ḥadīth. By contrast, *Şaghānī*'s manuscript repeats the entire text with the alternative chain, not only an allusion to it. See *Ibn Hajar*, *Fath al-Bārī*, 1:150; *Sallūm*, “Introduction,” in *‘Adād Jāmī’ Hadīth al-Jāmī’ aṣ-Şahīh*, 7. It also contains one extra non-Prophetic report from *Ibn ‘Abbās* on the expiation of the one unable to fast due to old age. See *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī*, 270.

5 *Mutawalli*, *Ziyādāt*, 16–17; ‘Utaybī, *Kitāb Jabr*, 281–86. Dr *Taqī ad-Dīn an-Nadwī* writes about a manuscript located in Pakistan. See *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī li-Şahīḥ al-Imām al-Bukhārī: Dirāsah wa Taḥlīl*, 267.

6 *Kirmānī*, *al-Kawākib ad-Darārī*, 19:241.

7 *‘Aynī*, *‘Umdat al-Qārī*, 25:102.

8 While highlighting the value of *Şaghānī*'s manuscript, Maulana Anwār Shāh al-Kashmīrī (d. 1933) writes that although Ḥāfiẓ *Ibn Hajar* had access to the manuscript, he may have not utilized it to its full potential. See *Kashmīrī*, *Fayd al-Bārī*, 1:33; cf. *Abshar ‘Awād*, *Juhūd al-Imāmayn al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Yūnīnī wa ‘l-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Hajar*, 29–30. After comparing the manuscript with *Fath al-Bārī*, *Nadwī* notes several instances where *Ibn Hajar* did not allude to material found in the manuscript. See *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī*, 270–78, nos. 2, 5, 8, 9 and 10.

9 *Qastallānī*, *Irshād as-Sārī*, 1:205.

manuscript. In his magnum opus, *Fath al-Bārī*, *Ibn Hajar* cites the manuscript over 100 times.¹

The Indian lithographic print of the *Şahīh*, meticulously produced with marginal notes by *Ahmad ‘Alī as-Sahāranpūrī* (d. 1297 AH/1880 CE), is an invaluable yet underappreciated work of scholarship.² *Sahāranpūrī* spent ten years critically analyzing and refining his personal copy of the *Şahīh* with a number of important manuscripts like that of his teacher Shāh Muḥammad Ishāq (d. 1262 AH), an extension of ‘Abdullāh ibn Sālim al-Baṣrī's legendary copy.³ Between 1851–1854 CE—decades before the celebrated *Amīriyyah* edition⁴—he produced the earliest print of the *Şahīh* in two volumes through his Delhi-based printing house, *Maṭba‘ Ahmādī*.⁵ Most important for our purposes, he had at his disposal *Şaghānī*'s manuscript, for which he used the symbols *ṣād/ghayn*.⁶ There are instances where *Sahāranpūrī* noted variants from *Şaghānī* that his fellow commentators did not draw attention to—not even *Ibn Hajar*.⁷

1 *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī*, 257.

2 *Sahāranpūrī*'s critical work has recently been printed by Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyah with editorial work by Dr *Taqī ad-Dīn an-Nadwī*.

3 *Hasanī*, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, 7:907; *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī*, 257; *idem*, “Introduction,” in *al-Jāmī’ al-Musnad aṣ-Şahīh*, 1:17–18.

4 The *Amīriyyah* edition was published in 1895. *Sahāranpūrī*'s edition even predates the Brill (Leiden) edition that was published in 1862. Dr *Ahmad as-Sallūm* opines that *Sahāranpūrī*'s edition is superior to the *Amīriyyah* edition because it cites manuscript-variants more frequently. See *Sallūm*, “Introduction,” in *al-Mukhtaṣar an-Naṣīḥ*, 1:92.

5 Nūr al-Ḥasan Kandhlawī, *Ustādh al-Kull*, 412–13; Muḥammad Rustum, *al-Jāmī’ aṣ-Şahīḥ li ‘l-Imām al-Bukhārī wa ‘Ināyat al-Ummah al-Islāmiyyah bihi Sharqan wa Gharban*, 43. Under the auspices of *Sahāranpūrī*, *Maṭba‘ Ahmādī* critically edited and published a number of important ḥadīth books which hitherto have never been printed, such as *Şahīḥ Muslim*, *Jāmī’ at-Tirmidhī* and *Mishkāt al-Masābīh*. See *Kandhlawī*, *Ustādh al-Kull*, 409 and 413.

6 In the introduction to his edition, *Sahāranpūrī* lists the symbols he used throughout the work. See *Sahāranpūrī*, “Introduction,” in *al-Jāmī’ al-Musnad aṣ-Şahīh*, 104–7. For a detailed study of *Sahāranpūrī*'s work on *Şahīḥ al-Bukhārī*, see my paper “*Ḥadīth Scholarship in the Indian Subcontinent: Mawlānā Ahmad ‘Alī al-Sahāranpūrī and the First Print of Şahīḥ al-Bukhārī*.”

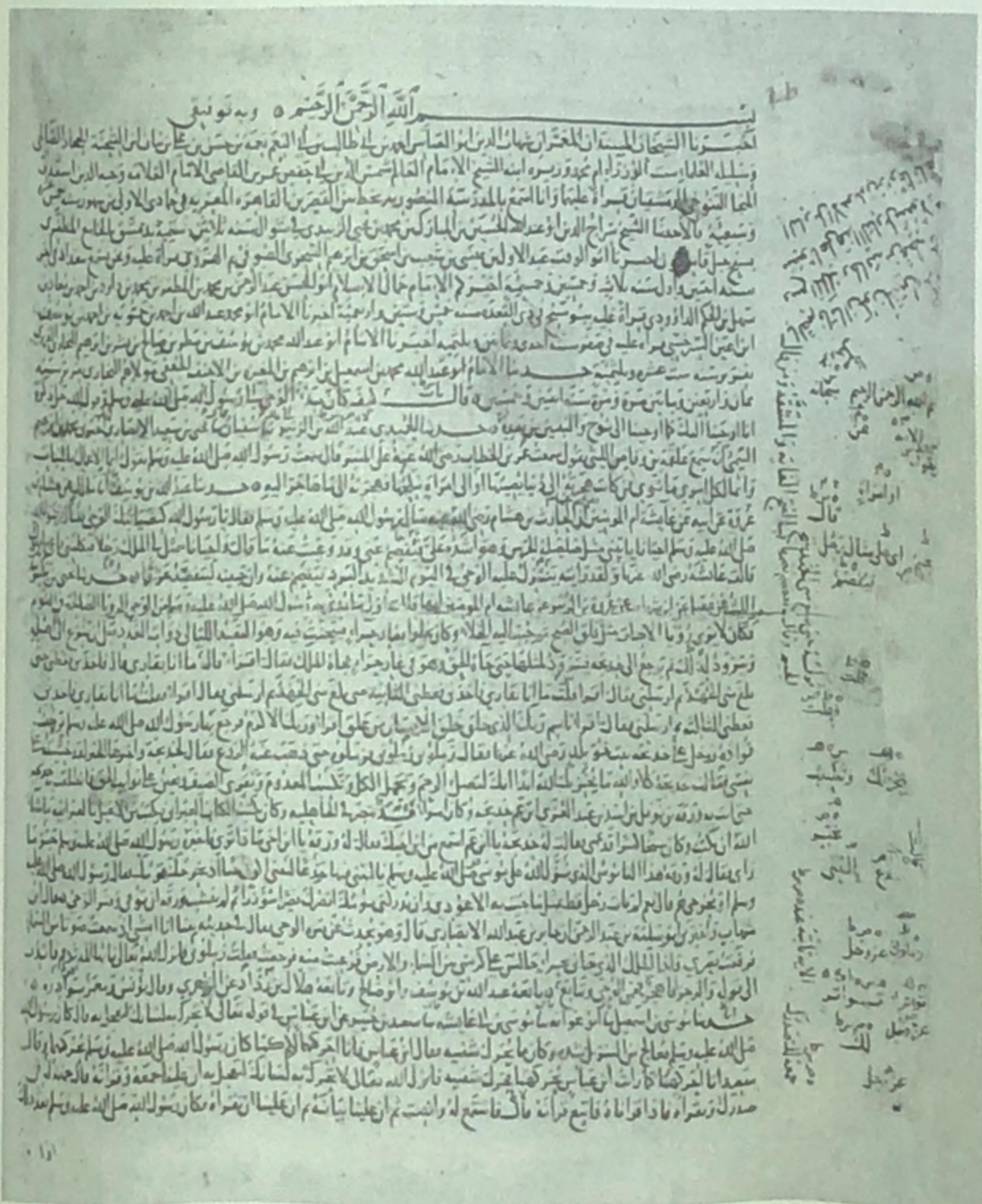
7 See, for instance, *Nadwī*, *Nuskhat al-Imām aṣ-Şaghānī*, 270–74, nos. 2, 8 and 9; *idem*, “Introduction,” in *al-Jāmī’ al-Musnad aṣ-Şahīh*, 1:19–23.

Conclusion

As contentions surrounding the disappearance of Bukhārī's exemplar continue to arise, one should bear in mind the famous maxim: unawareness of something is not proof of its nonexistence. Countless manuscripts that were once assumed to have vanished have recently been rediscovered.¹ However, even if Bukhārī's exemplar does not resurface, it will not affect the veracity of the text. The practice of oral tradition has preserved this text from adulteration,² not to mention the presence of critically-acclaimed secondary and tertiary copies. Having been cross-referenced with Firabrī's holograph—a manuscript that is on par with the exemplar—Şaghānī's manuscript of the *Sahīh* has preserved for us an accessible, near replica of the original.

Translator's Appendix 3

The following are two pictures of Nuwayrī's 5th handwritten copy of the *Yūnīniyyah*.



The first page

¹ For a study of early Islamic papyri that have been recently discovered, see Nabia Abbott's *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I: Historical Texts and Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition*.

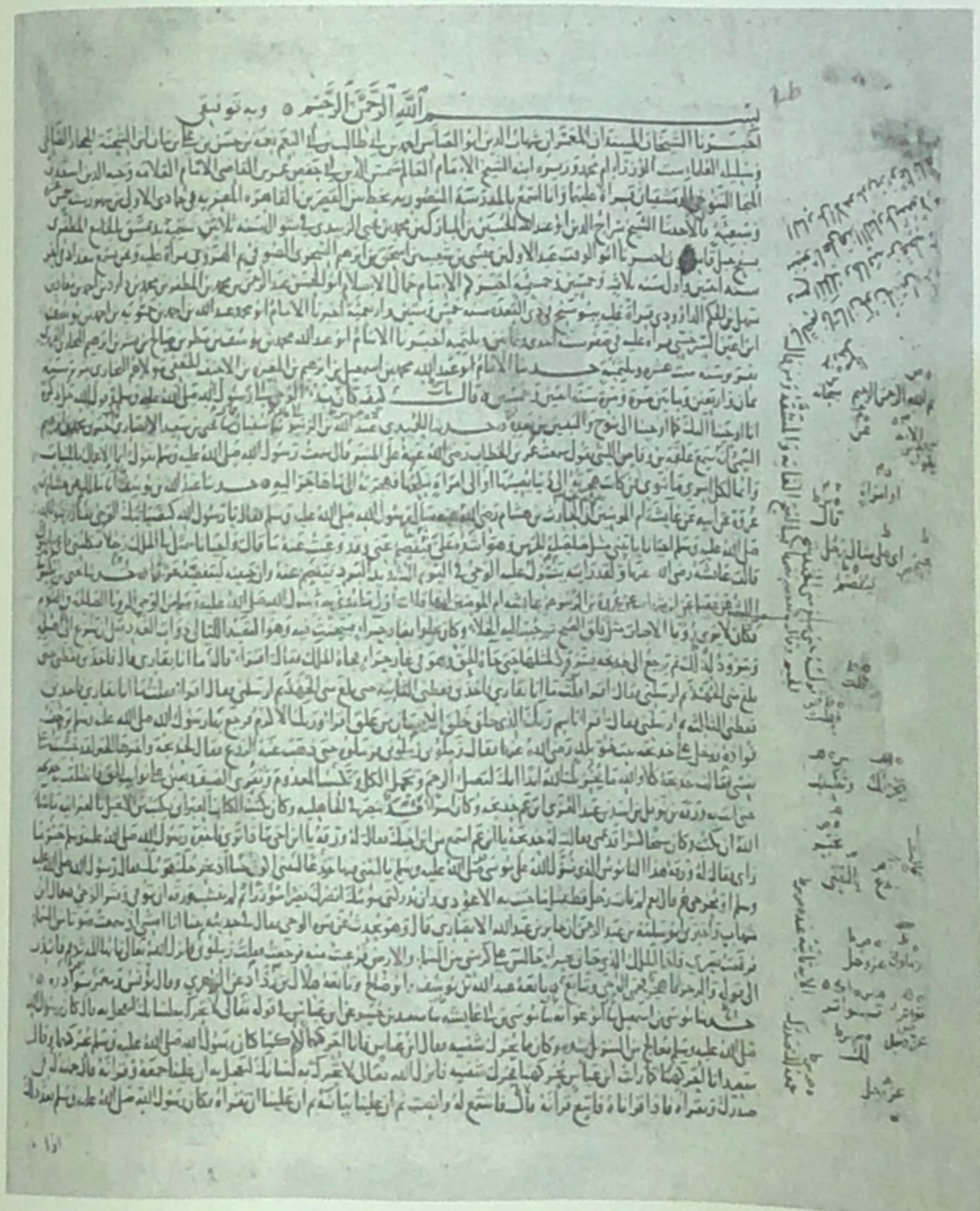
² This is not to negate the presence of variations between the manuscripts of the *Sahīh*. The variations between the recensions of the *Sahīh* fall under one of the following categories: (i) general variations (e.g. arrangement and titles of chapters); (ii) *isnād*-based (e.g. phrases of transmission); and (iii) text-based (e.g. addition of a word or letter). But these variations are not serious. They do not affect the rank of the *Sahīh* or cast doubt on the authenticity of its *ḥadīths*. As any specialist will tell you, it is absolutely normal for such variations to occur. See 'Abd al-Qādir Jalāl, *I'lā' al-Bukhārī*, 65–71.

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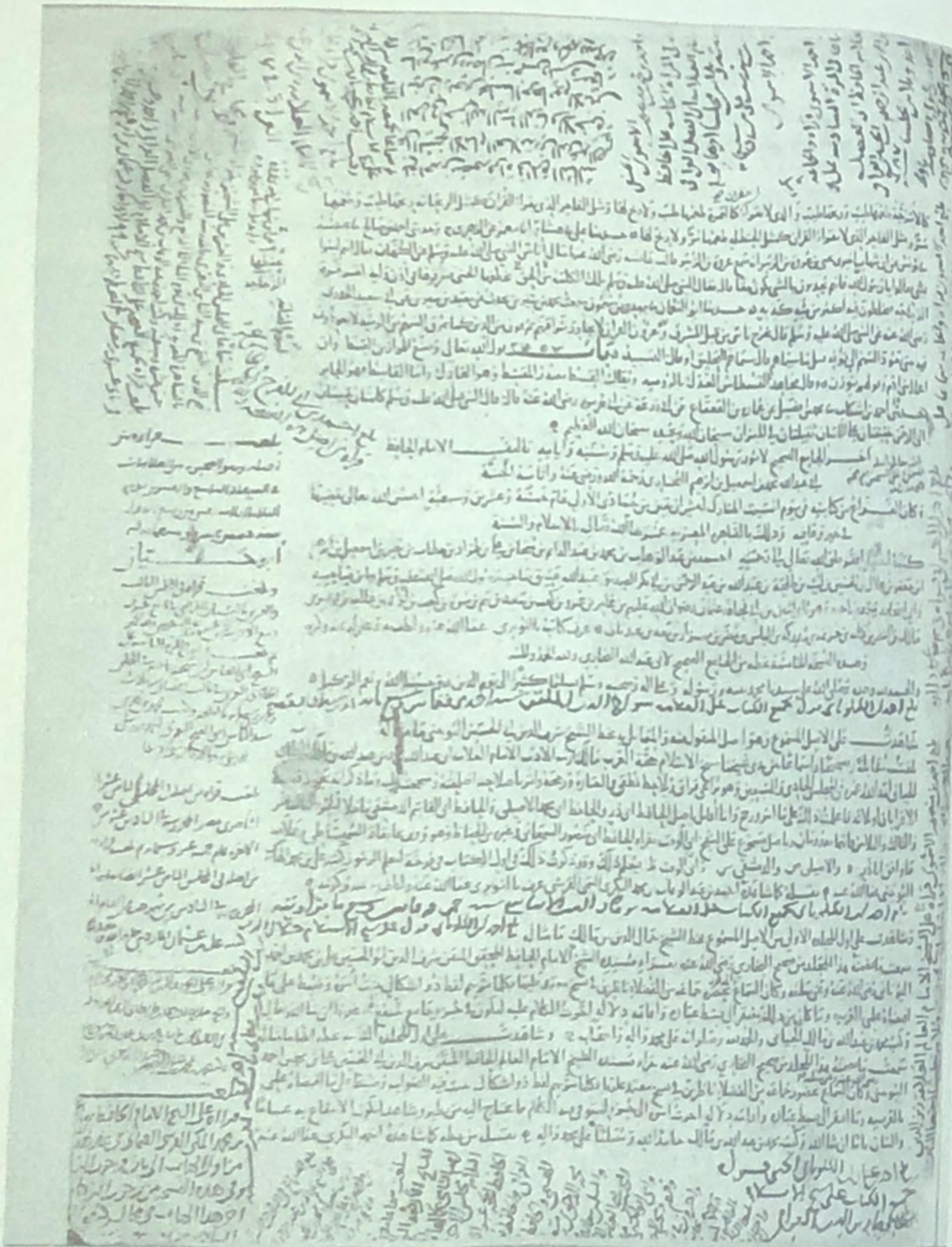
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Final page and reading certificates

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INTRODUCTION TO ȘAHİH AL-BUKHĀRĪ

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Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī is unsurprisingly the most widely recognized book among Muslims after the Qur’ān. Curious readers of Bukhārī’s magnum opus are often left with burning questions that lie beyond its contents. Who was Imām Bukhārī? How and why did he write the *Ṣaḥīḥ*? How was it transmitted? Are there any reliable extant manuscripts of the work? In this introduction, Dr. Muṣṭafā al-Ā’zamī answers these questions in a simple and accessible manner. This translation, alongside added annotations and appendices, presents and expands on al-Ā’zamī’s research for an English readership, for whom there is a dearth of resources on the subject.



“The present translation performs a valuable service in its posthumous presentation of Dr. A’zamī’s research on Imam Bukhārī’s intellectual biography, critical modus operandi in compiling his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, and details of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*’s various transmissions and codices. The translator’s exceptional annotations and appendices only enhance an already rich text for those interested in the history of the preservation of Bukhārī’s seminal work.”

— MAWLANA BILAL ALI ANSARI, Darul Qasim, USA

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